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Museums, Tourism, and Economic Growth

John B. Swainson

IT MAY SEEM STRANGE TO THE UNINITIATED that jobs and economic growth would be chosen as a topic for an address to a museums conference, but all of us here recognize this to be an appropriate topic.¹ There is a definite relationship between historical attractions and tourism; and tourism is a vital, job-producing industry in Michigan. Tourism is one of Michigan's top three industries along with manufacturing and agriculture.

Most people know how wonderful it is to vacation in Michigan. But relatively few know the extent of the tourist industry in Michigan and the vital role it has in our economy. Last year, Michigan tourism grossed more than \$650,000,000 and provided employment for about one hundred thousand persons. There are more than twenty-eight thousand individual businesses serving the wants and needs of the Michigan tourists, and these businesses represent a capital investment of better than \$880,000,000.

In addition to creating and maintaining jobs, Michigan's tourist provides an important share of state revenue. Sales and use tax receipts from the tourist and resort industry have reached an annual figure of \$40,000,000. The tourist and resort industry has enjoyed impressive growth in recent years. The gross in 1949 was \$400,000,000 and the 1960 gross was better than \$650,000,000—an increase of over 62 per cent. In 1950, Michigan had 1,600 motels and now it has over 2,600. In 1950, Michigan had thirty-two ski areas—now it has seventy-six. I am happy to see the broadening of autumn and winter vacation activities and the additional number of tourists this is attracting.

The Michigan Tourist Council predicts that the tourist industry in our state has the potential of zooming to a billion dollar annual gross within the next five years. We are eager to see that prediction come true. We need to build the tourist industry if we

¹An address by Governor John B. Swainson before the Thirty-fourth Annual Midwest Museums Conference at Kellogg Center, Michigan State University, East Lansing, on October 11, 1961.

are to be successful in our goal of full employment in Michigan.

Tourism is of such great importance to Michigan because it is not just one business—it is many businesses rolled into one. We know that there are twenty-eight thousand businesses devoted entirely to the tourist. It would be difficult to count all the businesses that indirectly benefit from the tourist, or the ones to whom additional tourist business represents the margin of profit.

It is generally agreed that those factors which contributed to the spectacular growth of tourism in recent years—expanding population, better highways, more leisure time, increasing interest in outdoor recreation, higher incomes—will continue their progressive influence in the future. But we must be prepared to take fullest advantage of our opportunities and potentials.

To draw visitors to an area and hold them there when they arrive, that area must have a variety of attractions that will appeal to many interests. The importance of museums and historical attractions as drawing cards for tourists has come to be recognized more and more in view of the enormous success of such attractions as Colonial Williamsburg, the Civil War battlefield parks, our many fine natural science, art and historical museums, and historical markers.

This past June, Mr. Floyd Haight, chairman of the Michigan Civil War Centennial Observance Commission, served as my representative at a special program in Vicksburg, Mississippi, honoring the Michigan soldiers who fought in the Vicksburg campaign during the Civil War. Upon his return, Mr. Haight informed me that over a million people each year visit the Vicksburg National Military Park. Mississippi and other southern states are now spending hundreds of thousands of dollars to persuade even more tourists to visit these sites during the Civil War centennial, knowing full well that these same tourists will spend many times those amounts during their stay in the South. The Civil War attractions offered by the southern states during the first year of the centennial have somewhat adversely affected the number of visitors who have come to Michigan this year. We should counter this trend by stressing in 1962, and in the following years, Michigan's role in the War of 1812. I have appointed a commission to plan the observance of the sesquicentennial of that war.

The Michigan Tourist Council, which has always shown a keen awareness of the importance of museums and historical attractions to the tourist industry, found as a result of a survey of thousands of visitors to this state that 57 per cent of our tourists come here because of our historical and scenic attractions.

One of Michigan's prime historical attractions, of course, is the Henry Ford Museum and Greenfield Village at Dearborn which last year—for the first time in its thirty-two year history—had an attendance of more than one million people. This past August it reached an all-time monthly attendance record of 250,690. Greenfield Village is an outstanding example of an historical attraction, comparable to Colonial Williamsburg, Old Sturbridge Village, and others that have been developed with private funds.

Dearborn also has a unique example of the close relationship of the tourist industry with museums. A motel corporation has leased from the Dearborn Historical Commission the land on which it has built a large motel. On a different part of the same property is one of the surviving buildings of the old United States Arsenal at Dearborn, which the local historical commission maintains as a museum. The corporation recognized the advantages of a motel located in close proximity to such an attraction and offered a financial arrangement under which both the museum and the motel have prospered. The Dearborn Historical Commission is a governmental agency. Here in Michigan we have long recognized the responsibility that governments have to their citizens to provide museums of all types.

We are justly proud of such publicly-supported institutions as the Detroit Institute of Arts and the Detroit Historical Museum, both maintained by the city of Detroit, the Grand Rapids Public Museum, the Kalamazoo Public Museum, the Hackley Art Gallery of Muskegon, the Con Foster Museum of Traverse City, and the many other fine local museums, large and small, found throughout the state.

Our colleges and universities, too, have excellent museum programs. Here at Michigan State University a new museum was opened to the public in 1958, and it is gratifying to learn that attendance this year will reach one-hundred thousand, double what it was the first year.

Here in Lansing we also have the State Historical Museum maintained by the Michigan Historical Commission. This state agency operates on a small budget, and with a small staff. Its museum is designed to demonstrate to the smaller communities what they can do with limited means. But at the same time the State Historical Museum is also an important attraction for visitors to Lansing.

Another state agency whose historical development program has aroused national interest since it began in 1958 is the Mackinac Island State Park Commission. Through a series of bond issues, the commission, at no expense to the taxpayer, has made Fort Mackinac and Fort Michilimackinac two of the outstanding historical attractions in the Midwest. During the four months these forts were open in 1960 total attendance was 320,000, and this year paid admission rose to 330,000. In a year in which the tourist business in northern Michigan was off somewhat, these two forts were bulwarks of strength for the tourist economy of the Straits of Mackinac area.

Museums and history are also assuming an increasingly important role in the planning of the Michigan Department of Conservation for its state parks. At present, the department maintains Fort Wilkins State Park as an historic site, is developing Fayette State Park as a unique ghost town park, maintains and is improving its logging museum at Hartwick Pines State Park, and has a natural science museum at Bay City State Park. As funds become available, more such attractions will be included in the state parks.

We have been talking so far in terms of large attractions, of those drawing many thousands of visitors each year. However, a recent survey by the United States Department of Commerce shows that an average of only twenty-eight tourists a day visiting a town with historical attractions will bring in as much money during the year as a new business with a \$100,000 annual payroll. There are few communities that could not develop attractions of such a size as this, and many in Michigan, I am happy to report, are doing just that. Harbor Springs is now on the way toward establishing a museum on Michigan Indians which will become a major attraction for tourists in northwestern Michigan. A group of historically-minded citizens of Marshall is now engaged in a fund-raising campaign to purchase the historic Hawaiian House in that city, and establish it as a museum.

It is gratifying to note that museum development in Michigan is keeping pace with the growth in our tourist business. The two are, as we have seen, closely intertwined. Each contributes to the success and prosperity of the other. Your work is, therefore, not only important in and of itself. It also has economic importance; it is strongly linked to our efficient pursuit of tourist development. You have my every wish for a most successful conference and continuing progress in your efforts to make history more meaningful to our people.

A Challenge is Met

Maurice F. Cole

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 18, DAWNED CRISP AND CLEAR. The year was 1885. The Bay City *Evening Press* of the previous Thursday had reported that the Rev. J. Ambrose Wight, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church down on Washington Street, had gone to Detroit to attend the annual meeting of Synod. In fact, he had given the prayer at the opening session. But he would return to Bay City in time for the Sunday services. His congregation was prepared for the usual scholarly and stimulating sermons from its minister. At the evening service, however, the Rev. Mr. Wight departed from his announced text. On that occasion a candle was lighted, a spark was struck, a bugle was sounded, that had far-reaching results for Alma College and its friends.¹

But let us go back, and lay a proper background for what happened on that eventful evening.

With the influx of settlers to Michigan after the completion of the Erie Canal to Buffalo, came the demand for those civilizing influences which they had known in their eastern homes: churches, schools, libraries, and newspapers. Early in the nineteenth century, by an arrangement known as the Plan of Union, the Presbyterian and Congregational churches of the East agreed that west of the Hudson River missionary work would be carried on jointly.

Missionaries sent out by the American Home Missionary Society were permitted to organize a congregation into either a Presbyterian or Congregational church, whichever form of government the members might desire. Congregational ministers were urged by the controlling body of that denomination to attach themselves to presbyteries and synods, and at least in Michigan, the two groups worked very closely together.

Many missionaries thus were sent into Michigan under the auspices of the American Home Missionary Society. Almost all

¹A condensation of the Founders' Day address delivered at Alma College, October 26, 1961, on the occasion of the observance of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the college.

of the early churches in the two denominations were organized by these men, and the story of this missionary effort is an interesting chapter in the history of the development of Michigan.

The first Presbyterian minister to reach Michigan was the Rev. John Monteith, who arrived in Detroit in 1816. Just graduated from the Princeton Theological Seminary, Monteith, who at the same time had also been offered a college professorship in the East, finally decided to accept the urgings of Governor Lewis Cass and a few other Protestant business men of Detroit to undertake missionary responsibilities in this new territory. Such decision was most fortunate for Michigan. Although licensed to preach, Monteith was not an ordained minister when he first arrived in this outpost of civilization. He was ordained the following year, however, while on a visit to the east. An entry in his diary, now housed in the Michigan Historical Collections at Ann Arbor, tells of the "Introduction of the Gospel" into Michigan and of the first observance of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in 1817.

Monteith was only the first of a long procession of missionaries sent into Michigan Territory in those early days. Many of the Michigan pioneers were devout church men and women, and lamented the absence of "the preached word" in their new surroundings. Thus it was that Presbyterian churches sprang up throughout the southern part of the territory.

Because some of those present here this morning are not Presbyterian communicants, and therefore may not be familiar with the Presbyterian line of authority, it might be helpful to briefly outline such organization. The over-all legislative body is known as the General Assembly, and in effect it is the national governing body, which meets annually. It is presided over by a moderator. The next lower division is the synod, in most instances but not in all, corresponding to the states of the union. Synod also meets annually. Thus we have in this state the Synod of Michigan. Each synod, in turn, is divided into presbyteries, made up of the individual churches of the area, usually named after the principal city. The Alma church, for instance, is a member of the Saginaw Presbytery, Synod of Michigan.

By the year 1827, ten years before Michigan became a state, several churches had been established in the Detroit area, and the

Presbytery of Detroit was formed from these churches. Six years later there were enough new Presbyterian churches scattered over southern Michigan to justify the establishment of the presbyteries of Monroe in the East and St. Joseph in the West, all before Michigan even became a state of the union.

The Michigan churches were originally a part of the Synod of Western Reserve, but by overture of that synod at its 1833 meeting held at Detroit, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church at its next meeting constituted the Synod of Michigan, and set September 23, 1834, as the date of its first meeting, and Ann Arbor as the site.

By this time the Presbyterians of the territory believed the time had come to establish a church college. At the second meeting of Michigan Synod, held in Adrian in 1835, a committee was appointed to study the problem, recommend the best location for a college, and a method whereby funds for the establishment of such a college could be raised.

Several of Michigan's new communities offered promising possibilities: Monroe, Adrian, Jackson, Niles, and Kalamazoo. The village of Marshall, in Calhoun County, also was a very good prospect, worthy of consideration. The feeling was quite general that the state capital would be located there, and several prominent men had taken up residence at Marshall in anticipation of that selection. Furthermore, a preparatory school was already in operation there, and it was suggested that a college be established by the Synod at Marshall, to be known as Michigan College. The suggestion was accepted by Synod and the committee proceeded to establish such a college. It selected as the president of the college the brilliantly eloquent pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Detroit, the Rev. John P. Cleaveland. He enjoyed, at the time, a very pleasant relationship with his congregation, but reluctantly resigned his pastorate to accept the appointment, many of his associates contending that he alone could make a success of the venture. Cleaveland formally accepted the presidency of the new college at a meeting of the committee held in Detroit on October 20, 1837. The new president moved to Marshall the following year to take charge of the new college enterprise. An academy building was constructed on the college property about a mile south of the

village, where a campus along the Kalamazoo River had been purchased. The second term of the academy was advertised to begin on November 20, 1838.

But this new venture was doomed to frustrations and disappointments from the very beginning. John D. Pierce, probably the most prominent and able of the early Congregational ministers of the state, was the minister of the Marshall church at the time. He originally supported the locating of the new college at Marshall, and had even signed one of the petitions urging such location. About this time, however, Michigan became a state, and Pierce had been appointed the first superintendent of public instruction. Thereupon his attitude toward the founding of a church college immediately changed. Credited, and properly so, with being the "Father of Public Education in Michigan," Pierce now contended that his system of public education, which included the state university, would educate the whole man, and that privately supported church schools would be a detriment to public education. Although he continued in his bitter opposition to the granting of a charter to the new college, the state legislature did, on April 16, 1839, pass an act incorporating Marshall College.

Many events occurred, however, which worked against the success of this worthy effort to establish a Presbyterian college in Michigan. Pierce continued his active opposition to the college, the financial Panic of 1837 made the securing of funds for the support of the institution very difficult, and Synod itself, in a most unusual action taken at its 1842 meeting, adopted a resolution to the effect that Synod "take a deep interest in the prosperity of the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor."² No mention was made in the resolution as to support for Marshall College.

This statement of Synod had the effect of diverting the sympathies, money and support of Presbyterians of the state from its own college. So discouraged was President Cleaveland and his associates by this action of Synod that in a moment of bitterness Cleaveland referred to the entire college effort as "an abortive enterprise."³

²Presbyterian Church, Synod of Michigan, Minutes, 1842, in the Michigan Historical Collections of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

³Wolcott B. Williams, "Two Early Efforts to Found Colleges in Michigan, at Delta and at Marshall," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 30:543 (Lansing, 1906).

About this time a personal tragedy entered the life of the college president, and it spelled the doom of the college. Cleaveland's wife was taken ill. An attendant administered the wrong medicine to the patient, and as a result of the mistake Mrs. Cleaveland died. "Broken hearted and dispirited" by the death of his wife, and the apparent failure of the college, he resigned the presidency and accepted a pastorate in Cincinnati. It should be noted here to his credit that Cleaveland later served with distinction as a chaplain in the Union Army during the Civil War, and thereafter returned to his native New England where he closed a distinguished career as a minister.

There were other factors which contributed to the failure of the Marshall venture. The Rev. George Duffield, who had succeeded Cleaveland as pastor of the Detroit church, was made a member of the Board of Regents of the University. Many of the professors at the University and members of the administrative board were active Presbyterian laymen, and the feeling was rather widespread that the interests of Presbyterians were being well taken care of at the university, from both an educational and a religious standpoint. Even the first president of the university, Henry Tappan, was a Presbyterian minister, and although he did not attach himself to the Synod of Michigan for obvious reasons, the fact that the president of the state university was himself a Presbyterian minister seemed to satisfy many of the laymen and ministers of the state, and render unnecessary the establishment of an independent Presbyterian college.

Thus the situation remained for almost four decades. In 1881, however, at the Synod meeting of that year, the synodical missionary, in his annual report, lamented the fact that it was difficult to find Presbyterian ministers to fill the pulpits of the state, that many pulpits were being filled by Congregational ministers and others, and that unless Synod did something about it that many of the churches would be required to close for lack of a minister.

Over at Kalamazoo, in the meantime, a Female Seminary had been established under the supervision of Synod. This was before the principle of coeducation had been widely accepted. The members of the board of the seminary were Presbyterian ministers or laymen. It was suggested at Synod that possibly the charter of the Female

Seminary might be amended so as to permit the admission of male students, and thus convert it into a coeducational college. The committee appointed to explore this possibility reported adversely, advising that the charter could not be so amended. It appeared again that the effort to establish a Presbyterian college was doomed to failure. Finally, at the insistence of a few members of Synod at the 1885 meeting held in Detroit, following an all-day debate which was kindly reported by the *Michigan Christian Herald* of that day as an "animated discussion,"⁴ and in which debate one highly respected member accused the University of Michigan of having become "infidel,"⁵ a committee was appointed to study the problem and report back at the following meeting of Synod. This was in October, 1885.

Here we take up again the story which began in Bay City so many years ago. The chairman of the Synod college committee just appointed was the Rev. J. Ambrose Wight of Bay City. Trained in his younger days as a lawyer, and having spent some years in newspaper work, Wight later had been called to the ministry, and after seminary training in the east, had devoted the rest of his life to that calling. Highly respected by his colleagues, convincing in his arguments, and dedicated to his belief that a church college should be established, he returned to his Bay City congregation from Synod meeting, determined to present the problem to his parishioners. On the Sunday evening following his return from Synod, the Rev. Mr. Wight reported to his congregation the events that had taken place at the Detroit meeting, stressing the extended discussion that was had concerning the establishment of a synod college. Unfortunately we do not have a copy of that Sunday evening message. We do know, however, that he invited anyone in his congregation who might be interested in the enterprise to notify him. He felt that at least he had presented the challenge to his people.

Days, weeks, even months passed, with no response. Finally, on a wintry day several months later, in March of the following year to be exact, a knock came to the study door of the Rev. Mr. Wight. Upon opening the door, Mr. Wight found that his caller

⁴*Michigan Christian Herald*, October 22, 1885.

⁵*Michigan Christian Herald*, October 22, 1885.

was a faithful member of his session, Mr. Alexander Folsom, requesting an interview. Mr. Folsom had attended the Sunday evening service several months earlier at which Mr. Wight had mentioned the college problem. He had been thinking over the matter, and had decided to give \$50,000 to help in the establishment of a Presbyterian college in Michigan.

Now today \$50,000 would not go very far in starting a college. It was not even enough in 1886, but it was a very substantial sum and an excellent start on the project.

A few miles up the river, at the thriving lumbering town of Saginaw, another member of the college committee was serving the Presbyterian church in that city. He was really a Congregational minister, a Civil War veteran, graduate of the Methodist college at Adrian, and a friend of Olivet College. It was his impassioned plea, at the last Synod meeting, described by one of his contemporaries as being filled "with pathos,"⁶ that had had so much to do with keeping alive the college idea. He was Prussian-born August F. Bruske. A few years previously he had resigned his Charlotte pastorate, close by Olivet, and had accepted a Presbyterian pastorate at Saginaw. He and Mr. Wight frequently met in the course of their pastoral duties, and when Mr. Wight next saw Mr. Bruske he reported the gift which had been offered by Mr. Folsom. Mr. Bruske was genuinely interested. He knew of a man in his city of Saginaw who might help the college cause. He was not a Presbyterian, in fact he was an Episcopalian, but he was a successful businessman who believed in supporting a worthy endeavor. Mr. Bruske would arrange an interview.

Such an interview was arranged and the Rev. Mr. Wight and Mr. Bruske were introduced to Mr. Ammi W. Wright, and the college proposition was presented to him. It happened that Mr. Wright had just completed in the village of Alma, a town about thirty miles to the west of Saginaw and a growing community of about 1,200 inhabitants, two brick buildings, which, with five acres of land, he had intended to give to a normal school which was to locate there. The normal school venture had fallen through, and here were two new buildings suitable for use as college build-

⁶David M. Cooper, *A Plea for the Smaller College, an Address Delivered on Founders' Day at Alma College, June 16, 1897* (Detroit, 1898).

ings, ready to be occupied. Mr. Wright would give not only the buildings and land, but would add an additional twenty-five acres as a campus if the college would locate in Alma. Mr. Wright and Mr. Bruske were genuinely thankful for this generous offer on the part of Mr. Wright.

Armed with offers of \$50,000 in cash, two buildings already constructed and ready for use, thirty acres of land for a campus, and a few miscellaneous gifts, the college committee of Synod journeyed to Grand Rapids in October to the annual meeting of Synod. The members of the committee felt that the opposition within Synod to the establishment of a college, which had been so very strong in years past, could not succeed in the face of these substantial offers of assistance. In this belief they were correct. Opponents who had actively argued against the establishment of a college capitulated in the face of such tangible offers of help, and when the final vote was taken only two members of Synod dissented. Thus it was that in old Westminster Presbyterian Church in Grand Rapids on October 14, 1886, that the Synod of Michigan resolved, "That in view of all the facts brought before us, we will, with God's help, establish and endow a college within our bounds."⁷

Almost two weeks later, on October 26, the trustees who had been named for the new college, assembled in the red-carpeted parlor of the Wright house, in the village of Alma. At this first trustees meeting, the village of Alma was formally selected as the site for the college, Mr. Wright's offer was accepted, and he was elected to the board of trustees and named treasurer.

The following September, "Old Main," then known as the Administration Building, and Ladies Hall, which we know today as Pioneer, were opened to the entering class of thirty-four students.

It is probably not necessary at this time, nor of much interest, to detail the steady, though sometimes slow, growth of Alma College. Its path has not been an easy one. Its foes in Synod continued to withhold support and sometimes to actively thwart its program. But at the same time there were always devoted, consecrated and determined men who refused to sit idly by and see this child of

⁷Presbyterian Church, Synod of Michigan, Minutes, 1886, in the Michigan Historical Collections.

Synod fail in its struggle to live and grow. During these seventy-five years strong men, both lay and clerical, have been raised up to lead Alma College.

Described by one of his contemporaries as "the conspicuously successful pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Kalamazoo,"⁸ George Field Hunting was unanimously selected as the first president of the college. He was succeeded in 1891 by the extremely able and devoted August F. Bruske, whose enthusiasm for the project had so much to do with its ultimate establishment. In his inaugural address President Bruske said, among other things:

This institution dug deep for its foundations. The church laid its cornerstone—upon its walls "Salvation" is written, and upon its gates "Praise." We shall be free to study here the philosophy of Plato; we shall not silence here the voice of Paul. We shall drink of the "ancient fountains of inspiration" flowing from the Iliad of Homer; we shall not deny ourselves here those waters of life to which we are invited by Isaiah. We shall declaim here the Phillipics of Demosthenes; we shall not be ashamed of reciting the "Sermon on the Mount."

Such was the conception of the function of this new college held by the man who was to guide its destinies for over twenty years during the most crucial and testing days of its early life. How thankful we should be that this immigrant patriot, this determined champion of the denominational college, was willing to give so generously of his time and his energies to secure the continuance and growth of our college.

We need not dwell upon the more recent growth of the college. The first Founders' Day address, and as far as I can find, the last, was delivered over sixty-four years ago. Pastor Emeritus of the Memorial Presbyterian Church of Detroit and a member of the original Board of Trustees of the College, David M. Cooper, took as his subject on that occasion "A Plea for the Smaller College." It was a scholarly and lengthy address. Today, in 1961, the "smaller college" has justified its existence and no argument need be made now in its behalf.

The present posture of the college is evident at every hand. Wherever one looks about this beautiful campus he sees tangible

⁸August F. Bruske, *History of Alma College from 1886 to 1896*, 17 (Alma, 1896).

⁹Lemuel B. Bissell, *Presbyterian Pulpit*, 12 (Monroe, 1898).

evidence of substantial growth. Modern and modernly equipped buildings, a student body of capacity size and above average in scholastic attainments, a faculty of excellent competence, and a progressive and forward-looking administration thoroughly familiar with educational trends and needs, these are Alma College today. And I would not forget the Board of Trustees whose faithfulness and zeal for an ever-improving college over the years have brought us to this challenging position of today. Nor should we be unmindful of the fact that much of our recent progress stems from the whole-hearted support of the churches of Synod.

But what of Alma of tomorrow? What will be said of our college when Founders' Day is observed on our one hundred or one hundred twenty-fifth anniversary?

You young men and women who make up the student body today, and those who have immediately preceded you and will follow you during the next decade, will do much to determine what position Alma College will enjoy on those future occasions.

Fine buildings, a competent faculty, an efficient administration, these things alone will not insure the future of this or of any other college. An institution of learning, this college, speaks largely through its alumni. You will soon join that group. Scattered literally all over the world, as you surely will be in these days of an expanding universe, as you reflect in your daily lives your college training in all its phases, as you translate, or fail to translate into action, the ideas and ideals you have received at Alma, so Alma College will be judged and appraised by the world about you.

The Rev. Mr. Wight, Mr. Bruske, Mr. Hunting, Mr. Cooper, they are all gone. Gone also are Mr. Wright, Mr. Folsom, and other generous givers in those early days. No one is now living who was present at that Synod meeting in Grand Rapids seventy-five years ago. But I believe could they have been present this morning, and could have seen today the college they strove so hard to establish and nourish, they would have rejoiced in its growth and present status, and would surely declare that "with God's help" Alma College has prospered through the intervening years, and has fully justified the faith of its founding fathers.

Other men and women of similar devotion must be raised up in the years to come who will carry on the high tradition set by these

venerable gentlemen of years ago, and continued by their successors to the present time. For the most part these men and women will come from the loyal sons and daughters of Alma College. It will be your responsibility, nay more, it will be your high privilege to cherish, maintain and extend the ideals which seventy-five years ago today motivated a group of Christian gentlemen to establish this—our college. It is a sacred trust. I feel sure you will faithfully discharge it.

New England Influence in South Central Michigan

Morris C. Taber

IN EVERY AREA OF PUBLIC LIFE men, ideas, and institutions from New England played a conspicuous role in the early development of Michigan. Yankees became the local leaders in education, religion, and government, because of their belief that schools, churches, and democracy were essential in planting decent and God-fearing communities. Accustomed to active participation in public life in the East, they were well prepared to assume leadership on the frontier. During its formative years, Michigan was dominated by New England culture brought here by settlers from that region. The foundation and early history of towns in southern Michigan reflected this influence in varying degrees.

In order to understand fully how the individual settlements of Michigan came to reflect so much of New England it is necessary to recognize that this Yankee influence changed and developed as it moved forward from frontier to frontier. When the flood of westward expansion reached Michigan from the East in the late 1820's and early 1830's, the settlers brought with them a variety of New England traits, habits, and ways of doing things which greatly influenced the development of the new territory and state.

The earliest settlements in New England were completely centered around the church and the major concern of the people was living a Christian life. In order to do this they had to conduct their governments and schools, as well as the churches in accordance with their religious beliefs. Thus, the three major institutions of the town became intermingled and dependent on each other. The Congregationalists (there was no other church) were members and officers of the town meeting, and they sent their children to the school, besides serving on its board. Knowledge was extremely important because the Puritans felt that this was the only way one could fully appreciate God's world; it was one of the ways in which one could discover His will for man. Therefore, the schools

served a religious as well as an educational function. Government was a means of insuring that the people would live godly and righteous lives according to the dictates of the church. Thus the classic New England town of the seventeenth century was usually a simple, compact settlement revolving around the church.¹

The simple, homogeneous community became rarer as other interests became dominant. The economic urge to make profits became so strong that "Yankee" soon became a synonym for industry, thrift, and business acumen. Other religious groups began to challenge the Congregational monopoly with varying degrees of success. The schoolhouse and town hall tended to fill the void when the church ceased to be the center of village life.

Along with the change in the type of settlement went a movement westward. The migration started from seaboard New England, moved into the interior, and continued across into western New York. These events are important because much of the Yankee stream came to Michigan, not only directly from New England, but also by way of New York.

By the 1820's the Yankee settlers in the Empire State were in financial difficulties. These difficulties were aggravated by the opening of the Northwest Territory. The competition of the new western lands was simply too much for the New Englander and New Yorker. They felt that their chances of success at home were very poor. Yankee farmers were bedeviled with rocky soil, and with the growth of cities and industry. There came a rise in prices which was ruinous for the small farmer in both New England and New York. As a result, bankruptcy stared many in the face, so the discontented farmers of the New York and New England frontier decided to move, this time to Michigan.²

The public land in Michigan was first put on sale in 1818 and the early settlers constantly wrote letters telling how wonderful Michigan was. The following letter of October 1, 1823, to a friend in Connecticut, is typical.

The accommodations are excellent, and our voyage was exceedingly pleasant [three days from Buffalo to Detroit] . . . I find the land rich

¹Florence Woodard, *Town Proprietors in Vermont*, 150-52 (New York, 1936); Roy Akagi, *Town Proprietors of the New England Colonies*, 30-32 (Philadelphia, 1924).

²Ray Billington, *Westward Expansion*, 303 (New York, 1949).

and luxuriant, generally heavily timbered, and interspersed with numerous streams of pure good water. It is Limestone country and level . . .

The timber is very large and of the best kinds: it consists of black walnut, hickory, maple . . . and although no attention is paid to the orchards, the apple possesses a flavor I have seldom tasted.

But I cannot go too much into detail, suffice it to say, that taking into view the price of Public Land, one dollar and a quarter the acre, the quality of the soil, the facility to market afforded by the New York Canal, the salubrity of the climate and resources of the canal at large, I have never seen greater inducements to emigration presented, either for the purpose of agriculture or speculation. . . .

Should you wish more particular information respecting this country (a picture of which you may think I have too highly coloured), I take the liberty to refer you to Wedworth Wedsworth, Esq. of Durham, Connecticut, who was one of our exploring party. This gentleman . . . purchased about eighteen hundred acres.³

The land in Michigan was ideal for settlement with many "oak-openings" for fields and crops. The forests nearby provided the necessary lumber for houses and fences. The numerous streams and rivers caused Yankee eyes to gleam with visions of mills, canals, and steamboats.

Transportation from the East was no problem either, "Deck passage [on Lake Erie ships], costs only about three dollars, allowing a traveler to secure fairly comfortable transportation from Massachusetts to Michigan for less than ten dollars." The freight rates were so low that immigrants were advised to bring their belongings with them.⁴

Thousands of families in New England, who had remained contentedly behind during the earlier migration into western New York, sold their farms for what little they could obtain or abandoned them outright and moved westward along with the others. They had caught "Michigan fever" and their theme song was this ditty,

Come, all ye Yankee farmers who wish to change your lot,
Who've spunk enough to travel beyond your native spot,
And leave behind the village where Pa and Ma do stay,
Come, follow me, and settle in Michigania,
Yea, Yea, Yea, in Michigania.⁵

³Copy of a letter from a gentleman in the Michigan Territory to his friend in Connecticut dated October 1, 1823, in the *Detroit Gazette*, February 6, 1824.

⁴Billington, *Westward Expansion*, 302; John T. Blois, *Gazeteer of Michigan*, 415-16 (Detroit, 1838).

⁵Lois Mathews, *The Expansion of New England*, 227 (Cambridge, 1909).

Large-scale speculation was discouraged by government regulations so there was plenty of land for everybody. However, it seemed that everybody who had any extra money invested it in Michigan land in the hope of making a quick profit. In 1836 alone four million acres were sold, doubling the previous year's sale of two million.⁶

Most of the speculation aided rather than hindered settlement. Most purchasers immediately tried to develop and improve the land to attract settlers. In villages like Jackson, Albion, Marshall, and Battle Creek were found variations of the New England proprietors. In each case the large land owners banded together to build bridges, roads, and mills, and to grant land for schools, churches, stores, factories, and anything else that they thought would make their settlement grow more rapidly. By 1837 the migration from New England and New York to Michigan frequently reached flood stage. The settlers came by themselves, sometimes in family groups, and now and then an entire congregation or a large group would migrate and settle together.

As a result of this development, the early population of Michigan was largely of Yankee origin, the overwhelming majority of which came from western New York. There is no way of telling exactly how many people of the New York-New England stock arrived in Michigan, but in 1850, "63 per cent of the population of Detroit was reportedly from New York and most of the rest were from New England." Also, of the entire population of the state, 400,000, in that year, more than 160,000 were Yankee by birth. By 1860, approximately 230,000 residents were natives of the Northeastern states and western New York. These figures do not take into account, of course, the second generation New Englanders born on Michigan soil. One historian has stated that, "Michigan probably has a larger proportion of New England stock than any other western state." Michigan certainly deserves the title of "The Third New England," which has sometimes been given to it.⁷

While the Yankee influx into Michigan, therefore, was great, the

⁶George Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan*, 491-92 (Lansing, 1916).

⁷Almon Parkins, *Historical Geography of Detroit*, 109 (Lansing, 1918); Mathews, *The Expansion of New England*, 277; Billington, *Westward Expansion*, 308; Charles Lanman, *Red Book of Michigan*, 140 (Detroit, 1871); Silas Farmer, *History of Detroit and Michigan*, 1:335 (Detroit, 1889).

Yankee influence upon the institutions and life of the state was even greater. In 1880 a listing of eleven hundred "Representative Men" in the Wolverine State showed that one-fourth were born in New England although the number of native Yankees in the population at that date was less than 3 per cent of the total. These men made their influence felt in the development of communities and the state.⁸

The Puritan ideal of the school and the church as fundamental institutions in every community was characteristic of Michigan. Pioneers from New York and New England continued to emphasize formal learning and often established schools for their children long before districts could be organized for that purpose. In 1827, the Territorial Legislature passed the first public school law. It provided that the citizens of any township having fifty householders should provide themselves with a school teacher, of good moral character, "to teach the children to read and to instruct them in the English or French language as well as arithmetic, orthography, and decent behavior."⁹ Any township having two hundred householders was required to provide themselves with a teacher who was capable of teaching Latin, French, and English. This was similar to the Massachusetts law of 1647.¹⁰

In the words of the first superintendent of public instruction of Michigan,

No new state ever started into being with so many warm and devoted friends of education as we had. The leading men of that day were the fast friends of education, and hence our success. This was especially true of the members of the convention and of the first Legislature.¹¹

Two of the greatest of these "friends of education" in the state were Isaac Crary and the Rev. John D. Pierce. Pierce, a graduate of Brown University, settled in Marshall with his family in 1831. Crary was born and educated in Connecticut. He came to Michigan and settled in Marshall in 1832. In 1835, Crary, as chairman of the committee of education in the state's constitutional convention,

⁸Wolcott B. Williams, "New England Influence in Michigan," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 17:313 (Lansing, 1892).

⁹*Laws of the Territory of Michigan*, 2:472-73 (Lansing, 1874).

¹⁰Charles Tuttle, *General History of the State of Michigan*, 595 (Detroit, 1873).

¹¹John D. Pierce, "Origins and Progress of the Michigan School System," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 1:45 (Lansing, 1877).

drew up, reported upon, and secured the adoption of the article on education, modeled at least partially upon New England precedent. As Michigan's representative in Congress, he persuaded the national government to accept the proposed constitution. To add to these laurels, Crary deserves to be called the father of the public school system in Michigan. His influence resulted in the adoption of three measures which form the framework of the state's school system.

First, a centralized department of public instruction was created with a constitutional officer at its head in the state government; second, the entire primary funds were to be held by the state as trustee and the income was to be appropriated for the support of the schools throughout the state forever; and third, the general university fund was converted into a specific endowment fund for the University of Michigan.¹²

The early settlers were interested also in higher education. There were six church-related colleges in operation by 1860, in addition to the three state-supported institutions.¹³

The second necessity in a Puritan community was the church. Religion was a serious matter in the early days of Michigan's history, and the churches normally founded by the settlers were, of course, of Congregational persuasion.¹⁴ "There were Baptists, Methodists, Episcopalians, Universalists, and Unitarians among the Yankee migrants, but Congregationalism largely prevailed." The towns of Olivet, Vermontville, and Romeo started as Congregational settlements.¹⁵

Very often the first institution organized in a village was the church, and ministers were among the most influential of citizens in the early history of the state. Men such as the Rev. John Pierce, a Congregational minister, who was the first superintendent of public instruction, and the Rev. John Monteith, a Presbyterian, who was the first president of the University of Michigan, were typical examples in the long list of ministers who held public posts of trust in the state's early history.¹⁶

¹²Andrew McLaughlin, *History of Higher Education in Michigan*, 34-35 (Washington, 1891); Washington Gardner, *History of Calhoun County*, 1:35 (Chicago, 1913).

¹³McLaughlin, *History of Higher Education in Michigan*, 34-163.

¹⁴This included Presbyterians as well as Congregationalists as the result of a temporary union of the two denominations on the frontier.

¹⁵Stewart Holbrook, *Yankee Exodus*, 93 (New York, 1950); Mathews, *The Expansion of New England*, 228-30.

¹⁶McLaughlin, *History of Higher Education in Michigan*, 32.

The third traditional institution of New England, the town meeting, was also brought to Michigan, which became the first western state to adopt this highly democratic type of local government. Communities in Wisconsin, Illinois, and Minnesota later also adopted the town meeting, but the Michigan town government system has remained more nearly like that of Massachusetts than that existing in other states in the Middle West. In the Wolverine State it is still an important part of township government.¹⁷

Michigan profited greatly from the political acumen of her first residents. Early politics were almost completely dominated by Yankees. The early governors of the territory and state were predominately from New England and New York. Of the first fifteen chief executives of Michigan (1803-1870), eleven were of New England birth and one was from New York.

Lewis Cass of Exeter, New Hampshire, was typical. As the second governor of the territory (1813-1831), he probably did more to promote the settlement of Michigan than any other individual of his time. He spent much of his time refuting the false statements made by Edward Tiflin, a surveyor for the Federal government, who reported that the land here was not worth settling upon and that only 1 per cent was fit for cultivation.¹⁸

The entire legal system, from the laws to the judges who administered them, was Puritan in origin.

Six of the ten territorial judges of Michigan were New Englanders. The first chief justice of our Supreme Court was a New Yorker Our probate law was adopted almost in its entirety from Massachusetts, our real estate law from New York. The practice of our law court from the justice court to the Supreme Court, was taken almost in its entirety from that of the state of New York.¹⁹

In 1805 three fourths of the territorial statutes were taken from the books of Massachusetts, New York, and Ohio. In 1818 an act provided that certain crimes were to be punished by public whippings—a penalty which came from the laws of Vermont. Thus, the mark of New England was evident even before the great migration of the 1830's.

¹⁷Mathews, *The Expansion of New England*, 234-35.

¹⁸Gardner, *History of Calhoun County*, 1:9.

¹⁹William V. Smith, "The Puritan Blood of Michigan," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 38:360-61 (Lansing, 1912); Mathews, *The Expansion of New England*, 223.

In the business world, "Yankee" is still a synonym for shrewdness and industry. We shall find in the individual settlements that on numerous occasions the first businesses and the first industries were begun by settlers from western New York and New England. The preponderance of Yankees was especially noticeable along rivers and streams which could be harnessed to provide power for mills and factories. They had learned the value of water power in the East and when they reached Michigan they made use of this knowledge to establish gristmills and sawmills.

It is therefore evident that the New England influence was strong in early Michigan. Although most settlements at this time gave strong evidence of their Yankee origin, an analysis of the four communities of Vermontville, Olivet, Marshall, and Albion will show how they reflected in varying degrees the three cardinal interests of New Englanders: religion, education, and business.

The village of Vermontville was almost a perfect example of the classic New England town. In almost every aspect it followed the typical pattern of settlement in seventeenth century New England. It was a compact, church-centered colony established for the purpose of "the advancement of Christ's kingdom" and the promotion of the temporal, that is, the economic, interest of the members.²⁰

Vermontville owes its existence to the Rev. Sylvester Cochrane of East Poultney, Vermont. In the fall of 1835 Cochrane set out alone for Michigan to see for himself what the new frontier was like. He was convinced by what he saw and heard, and returned to Vermont a confirmed emigrant.

Since individuals settling in wilderness Michigan could not obtain the educational and religious benefits he considered necessary, Cochrane decided to establish a complete colony from Vermont. After several meetings were held to discuss the proposed settlement, on March 27, 1836, the constitution of what was named the "Union Colony" was adopted at a meeting in Castleton, Vermont by forty-two men from surrounding villages and counties.²¹

The constitution clearly set forth the secular and religious purposes of the Vermontville colonists. They were distinctly Puritan in

²⁰Edward W. Barber, "The Vermontville Colony: Its Genesis and History, with Personal Sketches of the Colonists," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 28:204 (Lansing, 1900).

²¹Holbrook, *Yankee Exodus*, 79.

character and represented thinking more typical of seventeenth century New England than that of the mid-thirties of the nineteenth. The document was concise, consisting of only nine articles, with the second longest one being a declaration against "ardent spirits." Three provisions characteristic of Yankee Puritanism were admission to the colony only upon recommendation of a committee, specific recognition of the needs for schools, and a set of Sunday blue laws.

After the forty-two signers of this compact had thus stated their purposes, they proceeded to implement them. It was decided that each member of the band should contribute \$212.50 which was to entitle him to a 160-acre tract of farm land and a ten-acre village lot at the new site in Michigan. If a member was unable to contribute that amount, a payment of \$106.25 entitled him to a half share of land.

The funds thus obtained were to be used to purchase government land in Michigan at \$1.25 per acre. The colony was to consist of a compact area of three square miles, or 5,760 acres. According to the regulations adopted under the compact and illustrating the democratic character of the New England group migration, no individual could purchase more than one share of land within the limits of the colony. The colony was to promote settlement, not speculation.²²

A committee of three men was delegated to go to Michigan to locate the land to be purchased, as Cochrane was the only one of the company who had seen the territory. On April 2, 1836, six days after the signing of the compact, two of the committee, Simon S. Church and William G. Henry, set out for Michigan to purchase the necessary land. They were joined in western New York by Wait J. Squier, the third member of the location committee. Together, the three men made their way to Michigan, and arrived at length at Kalamazoo, a frontier village already of more than local importance, since a land office had been established there in 1834.²³

According to the bylaws, the committee was to locate the colony on a contiguous body of land, not far from another town. It was specified that the property should be of nearly uniform value through-

²²Barber, "The Vermontville Colony," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 28:204-5.

²³Barber, "The Vermontville Colony," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 28:206-8; *Vermontville Echo*, April 23, 1955.

out its extent and there were to be no swamps or other poor land. This was typical of the conservatism of the colonists' ancestors who earlier had settled New England. The Puritan fathers' wish to keep their flock together was still evident here. The Yankee settlers had no wish to permit the frontier to break down their spiritually elevated society. This was part of the heritage of the members of the "Union Colony."

The men had great difficulty filling the requirements imposed upon them. Because of the fever of speculation, which was at its height in 1836, and the influx of migration, the attractive land near Kalamazoo was already sold and the committee, disappointed, was forced to look elsewhere. The party explored not only Kalamazoo County, but most of Barry County too, and much of Ionia County, but most of these districts were not heavily wooded and had been settled or purchased by speculators.

Despite the fact that they became discouraged about their prospects, Church followed a suggestion given to him by a frontiersman that the western part of Eaton County contained an area of land that would meet their requirements. Church learned that there was an entire township of good land available in that area and decided to examine it.²⁴

The land on which Vermontville was to be established resembled the home state of its settlers more than any place in Eaton County. Like Vermont, it was heavily timbered with beech and rock maple. The terrain was rolling with "far-reaching views," and the flora and fauna were like that of their native state. It is little wonder that the committee was pleased with the land and decided to buy it. It is also little wonder that they should name the town and village Vermontville.

However, the location fell far short of what they had hoped to obtain. Vermontville was fourteen miles from the nearest village and twenty-eight miles from the nearest gristmill. There were no roads into the area, nor was there a navigable waterway. The land was fertile, but there was no oak-opening. The choice between a contiguous body of land and economic advantages was decided in favor of a compact colony.

²⁴"Vermontville," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 3:425 (Lansing, 1881); *Vermontville Echo*, April 23, 1955.

The men returned to Kalamazoo and completed the purchase exactly two months after the agreement had been signed in Vermont. Then they went back to the site, mapped the settlement on a half-section of land, and laid out the village in thirty-six equal plots. Four acres in the center of the village were set aside for a school, church, and town hall. The remainder was to be divided among the settlers by lot.²⁵

Some of the colonists had arrived by the last of May, and they began the arduous task of clearing the land of the heavy stand of timber which covered it. The newly arrived settlers not only built log cabins and shanties for the use of their own coming families, but they also constructed a large two-story cabin called the "colony house," which was for the use of families who were to arrive later. Thus, in still another way the time-honored habit of community cooperation revealed itself, a habit which was typical of the Yankee spirit.²⁶

A few families actually moved to Michigan in the fall of 1836. Before returning to bring their families, a number came to inspect their purchases or to inspect the plots before making the final decision to move. A meeting was held on October 3, 1836, as required in their bylaws, at which the settlers divided the land. The purchase was to be sectioned into units of 160 acres and distributed by lot. The new owners of the more attractive plots of land (by location) were assessed to pay the expense of the committee which had come to Michigan earlier to make the original purchase. The division of the lands by lot was the standard practice among the town proprietors of New England in the seventeenth century. In this manner, each person had an equal opportunity to get the better plots of ground.

Some colonists arrived in the new community in 1836, but most of them came in 1837 and 1838. The new community was planned as a group project, and it was settled in that manner. To keep the movement a compact one, a penalty clause had been inserted in the bylaws of the colony by which members who failed to settle within the specified time forfeited their lands. This was very much

²⁵Barber, "The Vermontville Colony," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 28:210.

²⁶Holbrook, *Yankee Exodus*, 80.

like the New England mode of settlement and entirely dissimilar to the typical frontier town elsewhere where scattered and haphazard settlement was the rule.²⁷

Many of the settlers in Vermontville soon learned that their dreams of a rapidly growing community with the cultural advantages of their former New England homes were not going to be realized. The panic of 1837 and the resulting collapse of many of the banks and the hard times throughout the West curtailed immigration for several years. Vermontville was not in a good location for growth as the only means of access was little more than a trail through the woods. It was off the path of migration, literally an economic backwater.

The land, too, was hard to subdue and the settlers became discouraged. Many, indeed, would have left save for the fact that their life savings were invested in the project, and in the late 1830's real estate was not salable at any price. Like their ancestors before them if their present abode did not satisfy them, they wanted to move on. This time they could not do that. This was one instance where a depression actually kept a town in existence.²⁸

The growth of the community was very slow during the first years. The census of 1837 shows that the entire township of Vermontville had a population of 145, and in 1844 the assessment rolls of the village and the town revealed only fifty-one resident taxpayers. Because of this, the institutions of the village were well set in the New England mold before the influx of a non-New England population began. As a result, the town has kept more of the typically New England flavor than many of the other settlements in south-central Michigan.²⁹

The church and the school were the cornerstones of the colony and were the dominant institutions throughout the pioneer period. The colonists maintained their original avowed purpose of promoting religion and education. On February 27, 1837, the Congregational church was organized with seventeen members under the

²⁷Barber, "The Vermontville Colony," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 28:208, 213, 223.

²⁸Barber, "The Vermontville Colony," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 28:215.

²⁹*Legislative Manual*, 71 (Detroit, 1838); Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan*, 537.

leadership of the Rev. Sylvester Cochrane, who was the pastor of the community. All but two of the original settlers were or became Congregationalists. Therefore, the members of the colony, the political officers of the township, and the members of the church were almost entirely the same individuals in each case. The religious and civil functions often became intermingled. The church records show that it even conducted trials concerning such secular matters as disputes between neighbors. Once a charge was brought against seven members that they had "wrongfully and unlawfully used their influence to retain and have retained money belonging to school district No. 2 of Vermontville." Today it would be a proper case for the civil courts.³⁰

Vermontville was a God-fearing community in which the Sabbath and the Bible were taken seriously. Sunday was a day of rest and for attending church. The church clerk, writing to Rev. William U. Benedict in New York in 1842, stated that there was "no Sabbath breaking" or "consumption of spirits" in Vermontville. Benedict came to Michigan that year replacing Cochrane, who had left because of an argument concerning the building of an academy.³¹

Theocracy, however, had already proved itself incapable of survival on the frontier of the nineteenth century and Vermontville was no exception. There was no great goal or project which called for the unified support of the settlers and as a result factions appeared. Two years after the academy dispute, another church, the Methodist, was organized in Vermontville Township. This ended the unity of church, school, and government. Although the new denomination itself introduced little non-New England elements into the community, the decline of the religious spirit, which had been the inspiration for the settlement, was also noticeable. Village ordinances gradually neglected to compel church attendance, and the courts assumed their rightful jurisdiction over civil matters.³²

³⁰Barber, "The Vermontville Colony," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 28:256-58.

³¹Edward W. Barber, "Beginnings in Eaton County: Its Earliest Settlements and Settlers," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 29:383 (Lansing, 1901).

³²*Vermontville Echo*, April 23, 1955.

Proper education for the children had been one of the major reasons for migrating as a group and little time was lost in providing it. The first school was held in a private house during the summer of 1838 until a log cabin was built for that purpose in the autumn. School was conducted for three months in the winter by a male teacher and for about the same length of time in the summer by a woman.

The colonists' Puritan and Yankee background spurred them to seek more than a mere basic education for their children. In 1843, an academical association was formed and funds were raised by popular subscription to erect an academy. The following fall the building was ready and opened under the direction of the Rev. William U. Benedict, the new minister.⁸³

Tuition was a modest \$2.75 per term. Board for out-of-town students was available at about one dollar per week. Under Benedict's supervision the academy was temporarily prosperous, attracting students from other parts of the county and even from as far away as Battle Creek. Obtaining a charter in 1846, it became one of the first academies in the state. Within a decade, however, the rise of public education seemed to make the Vermontville Academy superfluous, and in 1860 it merged with the district schools to form the Vermontville Union School, its function served and completed.⁸⁴

Once the colonists settled down on their land, they became conservative and opposed to innovation, just as their forebearers back in Vermont. The chief conclusion to be drawn in comparing the establishment and early history of Vermontville with that of the classic New England town is that the resemblance of the former to the pattern set by its parent was remarkable. The group settlement under the terms of a compact, the union of the Congregational church, education, and government, and even the attitude toward change were typical of the seventeenth century town in Massachusetts or Connecticut. In fact, in terms of the frontier of the nineteenth century, Vermontville was almost two centuries behind the times in technique.

⁸³Barber, "The Vermontville Colony," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 28:220.

⁸⁴Holbrook, *Yankee Exodus*, 80; Samuel W. Durant, *History of Ingham and Eaton Counties*, 523-24 (Philadelphia, 1880).

Economically, the settlement was a failure due to location and the conservatism of the villagers, therefore it grew very slowly. Although this tended to keep out the non-New England elements, the distinctive Yankee flavor gradually became diluted anyway. The academy was swallowed up in the nationwide spread of free public education. Even the Congregational church, originally the very center of the settlement, had to make room for another group and in so doing religion lost its preeminent position in Vermontville.

Olivet, like Vermontville, owes its existence to the dream of a Congregational minister. It was conceived in the fertile brain of the Rev. John Jay Shipherd, who was born in New York of Yankee parentage. As a young missionary Shipherd went to frontier Ohio in the early 1820's and there became inspired with the vision of founding a small settlement of Christian families which would act as a sponsor for a church college in its midst. His idea was enthusiastically embraced by others. A location was selected in northern Ohio, and "to this wilderness the original colonists gathered, embracing families from several of the New England states and from New York and Ohio—all of New England origin." He succeeded beyond his dreams and within ten years Oberlin College was a large and flourishing school. Shipherd now developed plans for filling the entire Middle West with college-centered communities like Oberlin.⁸⁵

After careful consideration he decided upon Michigan for the establishment of a second Oberlin and began to plan accordingly, using speculation in land as the method for financing his scheme. The economic crash of 1837 caused a complete collapse of the minister's plans when his New York backers proved unable to pay their subscriptions. Thereafter, Shipherd's activities were more realistic, and he became the agent for Oberlin College, often making long journeys on horseback into Michigan to attend to college affairs. In November, 1843, he was sent to examine some land which the college owned near Grand Rapids. On the way he looked for possible sites for a renewed attempt at a colony and

⁸⁵James H. Fairchild, *Oberlin, Its Origin, Progress, and Results*, 7 (Oberlin, 1871); *A Memorial Speech Delivered at the Laying of the Cornerstone of the South Hall of Olivet College By Rev. N. J. Morrison, President of College*, 6-7 (Lansing, 1866). Hereafter this will be referred to as Morrison, *Memorial Speech*.

college in Michigan. The trails through Eaton County were poorly marked, and he lost his way a few miles north of Bellevue. His horse wandered about and eventually came to the top of a hill overlooking what Shipherd described as a beautiful valley through which flowed a creek. Also visible was a lonely cabin where Shipherd obtained lodging for the night. The next morning he lost his way twice more, but both times he emerged from the woods on to the same ridge overlooking the valley. Shipherd was deeply religious and took this to be Divine direction. He dismounted, knelt and offered a prayer to God that if this was the place He had chosen as a site for a settlement, Shipherd would establish one there. Although he was religious, he was also a Yankee, and therefore practical. He made these observations: the brook would provide water power; the timber was of good quality, signifying good soil; and the area was almost uninhabited and ideal for a colony. On the spot Shipherd named the colony Olivet and there it is located to this day.³⁶

Indians who settled in the valley already had cleared patches of land. The remainder of the terrain was largely covered with short scrub oak, although there was also good timber in the area. In short, the proposed site was ideal except that it was located five miles from the nearest "highway," the blazed trail from which the Congregational missionary had wandered three times. Shipherd immediately returned to Oberlin to gather a group to make the settlement and, incidentally, to raise the funds for purchasing the land which was owned by New Yorkers who demanded cash. One of Shipherd's friends, William Hosford, persuaded Carlo Reed of New York to join the venture. Reed provided the necessary capital to consummate the purchase.³⁷

The plan of Rev. John Shipherd included a Christian colony and a college; the former to constitute the supporting base for the latter, founding and cherishing it. He thought the colony should be composed of "picked" men who were not only truly pious, but at once in sympathy with the peculiar work to which they were called. He wanted to

³⁶Olivet: *One Hundred Years 1844-1944*, 39-40 (Olivet, 1944); Morrison, *Memorial Speech*, 6-7; "Early History of Olivet College," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 3:409 (Lansing, 1881), quoting Oramel Hosford.

³⁷Walcott B. Williams, *A History of Olivet College*, 5-6, 13 (Olivet, 1901); "Early History of Olivet College," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 3:409.

surround the future seminary with a moral and religious atmosphere so genial and healthful as to effectually restrain the wayward tendencies of young students, and with nearly a certainty, secure in them obedience of heart to claims of religion. Partially because of the expense and partially to remove his school from immoral influences which are supposed to gather at centers of population and business, Mr. Shipherd planted the germ of the future college in the wilderness.²⁹

On February 14, 1844, thirty-nine persons left Oberlin for Olivet, arriving ten days later. The fact that the first settlement of the place was made as a group testifies to the colonists' New England origin. Upon arrival, as was characteristic of these pious Congregational frontiersmen, the entire party knelt in the snow in prayer to dedicate themselves to the work of establishing a Christian community and college on that spot.

The colonists, by dint of close cooperation and hard work, soon had their cabins erected and began the task of "clearing the land, planting and sowing." Since there were a few deserted cabins and clearings in the area, as well as the clearing left by the abandoned Indian village, Olivet was not as difficult to settle as Vermontville had been.

As soon as they had planted their crops, the practical settlers "turned their attention toward improving the waterpower, building the dam, and laying the foundations for the saw and gristmills."³⁰ Yankee-like, Carlo Reed, William Hosford, and Wilson C. Edsell, all members of the group from Oberlin, quickly formed the Cedron (the name Shipherd had given the little stream) Mills Company. Although they had very limited funds, they purchased one thousand two hundred acres, including land in Shipherd's contract, with the intention of logging the timber. Edsell was a millwright and superintended the building of the sawmill, which was in full operation by August, 1844, and a gristmill, which was ready to grind the following spring.

The first year was a discouraging one for the settlers at Olivet. They were not accustomed to the climate and continued to work outside regardless of rain or exposure. The unhappy result was that soon most of the colony was stricken with chills and ague. Shipherd fell victim to what apparently was malarial fever and died

²⁹Williams, *A History of Olivet College*, 5-6.

³⁰Williams, *A History of Olivet College*, 15.

on September 16, 1844. Naturally enough, with the death of their pastor and leader, the colonists were disheartened; they were sick, and many had no money to tide them over the first winter.

Should the colony be abandoned or should the settlers try to carry on as Shipherd had planned? These hardy descendants of New England were made of stern stuff. Puritanlike, they asked themselves:

Have we been deceived in what we have supposed were the leadings of Providence? Was the light which Mr. Shipherd had followed a light of his own kindling, or was it a divine guidance?⁴⁰

They decided that Providence had guided them this far, and that they would not leave until they were certain that God bade them go. The unanimous decision was to continue the work.

Carlo "Father" Reed and Oramel "Father" Hosford saved the new enterprise from abandonment by timely and liberal contributions of money. Reed's gifts during times of crises in the progress of work did much to save it from extinction.⁴¹

The Rev. Reuben Hatch, who was to be the first president of the college which was now projected as a community institution, arrived in the fall of 1844. He found conditions discouraging, but he persevered in his purpose of establishing a Christian college in the Michigan wilderness. Hatch was determined not to allow any sort of difficulty to stand in the way of the erection of the new school. He clung to the typical Yankee belief in the indispensibility of education for a Christian life, and so the college was opened in December, 1844, with nine students in attendance.

When the new Olivet College closed its first year in June, 1845, with public exercises, it had an enrollment of eighteen.⁴² The increase was typical of the early growth of the school, but it was difficult to provide adequate facilities for the increasing number of students.

By 1846, the enrollment totaled seventy-two students. Tuition and fees were \$11 and \$10 per year for men and women respectively,

⁴⁰"Early History of Olivet College," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 3:410.

⁴¹Morrison, *Memorial Speech*, 8.

⁴²McLaughlin, *History of Higher Education in Michigan*, 42, 139. It was this same year that the University of Michigan graduated its first class with a total of eleven members.

and fuel was free for the getting. Most of the students worked their way through school.⁴³

Olivet College provided Christian instruction at a time when higher education in the new state was difficult to obtain, and it carried on the tradition in the Michigan wilderness of Congregational colleges which began with the founding of Harvard College in 1636.

Application was made in 1845 and again in 1846 to the state legislature for a college charter, but it was refused. The feeling was expressed that the struggling University of Michigan should be protected and no more colleges chartered to compete with it. Moreover, Olivet was in disfavor because it was abolitionist, permitted manual labor by its students and faculty, and favored coeducation. Since they were unable to obtain a charter as a college, the officials of the school made application in 1848 and were granted incorporation under the name of Olivet Institute.

Although the institute was very successful and growing rapidly, the founders of Olivet never lost their vision of founding a college. In 1858, when they realized that the rise of union school systems was threatening the existence of their institution, they again asked the legislature for a collegiate charter. This time the request was granted, and in 1859 Olivet, at long last, became a college.⁴⁴

Shipherd's dream of a college in the wilderness did not materialize until fifteen years after his death. Those fifteen years, however, were fruitful ones, for during that period twenty-five hundred youths had passed through the doors of Olivet Institute and received that mixture of moral and intellectual instruction which Shipherd and all New Englanders believed was essential for a Christian life. Whereas in Vermontville the church was the center, in Olivet the institute was the keystone to the very existence and being of the village.⁴⁵

Although the college is today technically nondenominational, its founders were Congregationalists and, naturally, they organized a

⁴³Olivet: *One Hundred Years 1844-1944*, 47.

⁴⁴Durant, *History of Ingham and Eaton Counties*, 531; "Olivet College: 1844-1944," in *Michigan History*, 28:399 (July-September, 1944); Daniel Strange, *Pioneer History of Eaton County*, 111 (Charlotte, 1923).

⁴⁵"Early History of Olivet College," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 3:411.

church. The congregation has worshipped on the campus since it was organized on March 20, 1845, first in one of the college buildings and then in its own church built on college property. The unity of the church and school is here portrayed in the typical New England manner with the exception that religion here is in the supporting rather than the leading role.

Since no other denomination became permanently established in Olivet, the Congregational Church maintained its position of leadership in the village, as well as its close affiliation with the college. The ministers have usually been connected also with the college and even now it is common for the pastor to be an instructor in religion at the college. Here again you see the old Yankee combination in effect.⁴⁶

Detailed records of township and village governments were almost nonexistent in the early years except when their actions affected the college. The records apparently were sketchily kept because attention seemed to be focused almost exclusively on the promotion of the welfare of the college.

Although different, the settlements of Vermontville and Olivet have a number of similarities. They were both founded by colonies of New Englanders, although one was derived from Ohio and one emigrated directly from Vermont, and both were under the leadership of Congregational ministers. In each case, the location of the community was chosen at least in part for other than economic reasons, and as a result neither town grew rapidly. The members of both colonies were devout Christians and desired to establish God-fearing settlements in Michigan, following their Puritan ideals. But the likeness of the two villages ends there. Olivet had a single purpose, which was kept ever foremost, "to serve as a supporting base for the college."⁴⁷ Vermontville, although actively interested in education, had no such driving aim as the one which to this day has shaped Olivet's history. In Olivet there is no record of land having been purchased for the colony as a whole or of a compact or formal agreement among the original settlers. There was no formal organization until after the group reached Olivet, then the settlers fitted into the existing township and school govern-

⁴⁶*Olivet: One Hundred Years, 1844-1944, 77-80.*

⁴⁷*Olivet: One Hundred Years, 1844-1944, 77-80.*

ments and established their own for their college and church. The fact that thirty-nine people did come to Olivet as a group, however, caused that community to bear a more than pale resemblance to Vermontville and the classic New England towns.

The Olivet settlers were Yankee—their immediate recognition of the economic potentialities of the Brook Cedron and the surrounding timber, their interest in a religious settlement, and the ever present goal of a Christian college attest to this fact. Despite the influence of the individualistic frontier much of the cohesiveness of the New England community-type of settlement remained, particularly the striking adherence to the Puritan ideals of education to instill knowledge about God and His world among His chosen people.

The goal of Olivet—supporting a college—was a plainly visible one, and so through the years it is possible to say that in at least one respect Olivet is probably more typical of its Yankee founders and New England heritage than any other village in Michigan today.

In addition to concern for religion and education, unusual interest and skill in business was considered as a trait characteristic of New England settlers on the frontier. It is more difficult to give examples of settlements which reflected this trait, since the villages which were economically successful grew and in the process lost much of their typically Yankee attributes. Expansion invariably meant change as succeeding waves of immigrants came from different parts of the United States and the world. To illustrate the effect of the Yankee businessmen on early settlements let us look at Albion and Marshall, two cities which, though not large, prospered and grew far more than did such settlements as Vermontville and Olivet. By remaining relatively small they managed to retain some of the New England atmosphere missing in the larger cities.

The actual founding of these villages was unlike that of Vermontville and Olivet inasmuch as they were not established by an organized group. Like most contemporary communities of southern Michigan, their settlement was almost entirely haphazard, individualistic, and for economic reasons.

"Marshall, the capital of the state of Michigan," so hoped the people who settled there during the 1830's. The thriving village

seemed destined to become the metropolis of south central Michigan and gave promise of fulfilling the highest hopes of its founders.⁴⁸

In the summer of 1830, Sidney Ketchum, a land speculator from Peru, New York, came to Michigan and after striking out along the Territorial Road made the first two purchases in Calhoun County. Both sites included the waterpower rights and centers of what are now Albion and Marshall. In late autumn Isaac Hurd and Calvin Smith, two Yankees seeking a place to settle, arrived, liked the location, purchased land near Ketchum's, and began to make plans for a settlement. The two men, along with Sidney and George Ketchum, organized themselves into the Marshall Land Company.

In the summer of 1831 the site was surveyed and it obtained designation as the county seat. The plot was an elaborate one with land set aside in grandiose manner for courthouse, jail, streets, alleys, seminary, and a lot each for a Presbyterian, an Episcopal, a Methodist, and a Baptist church. This was no church settlement, it was a business venture and the company welcomed all types in hopes it would prove a profitable venture.

Thus from the beginning Marshall was stamped as a different kind of settlement. It was not a compact community or group settlement like Vermontville and Olivet. There was no such thing as religious unity and from the beginning the proprietors made it clear they expected a profit. They were Yankees, but they were businessmen first, not Puritans.

The growth of the village was based strictly on economics. Location on a desirable water site and on the Territorial Road caused a rapid sale of lots in the new county seat. George Ketchum, the first settler to arrive, came in April, 1831, bringing with him a party of men to build a dam and sawmill.⁴⁹ After this, people came in rapidly, but always individually or in small family groups. When the Rev. John D. Pierce of New Hampshire preached his first sermon only three months after Ketchum's arrival, there were twenty-five in his congregation.⁵⁰

⁴⁸Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan*, 342.

⁴⁹Gardner, *History of Calhoun County*, 1:19-22, 229-331; *History of Calhoun County*, 12-51 (Philadelphia, 1877).

⁵⁰John D. Pierce, "Congregationalism in Michigan," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 12:354 (Lansing, 1885).

The following year brought further accomplishments. George Ketchum finished a gristmill near his sawmill, a matter of great importance for the growth of the village, as it was the only place within a radius of thirty miles where flour could be ground. Marshall, therefore, became the trading center for this large area. Ketchum's Yankee foresight in developing the water power immediately gave Marshall a considerable advantage in securing business and new settlers.

The village grew rapidly and in 1835 land was set aside for use in anticipation of Marshall being named the capital of the state. By a stretch of the imagination, Marshall was declared the head of navigation on the Kalamazoo River and lithographs showing steamboats docking at busy wharves were circulated throughout the East. How could the village fail to attract settlers? Hundreds flocked to Marshall and the town became the most substantial community in the area despite the fact that the capital went to Lansing and the Kalamazoo would not "float a good-sized scow."⁵¹

The census in 1837 reported a population of eleven hundred for the village of Marshall. Although probably padded, these figures show a remarkable growth. An extract of statistics of the same year showed rapid economic growth also.

There are at present two printing offices, seven lawyers, seven physicians, four clergymen, two surveyors and civil engineers, three churches—Methodist, Episcopal, and Presbyterian—three taverns, seven drygoods, four grocery stores, one chair factory, one fanning mill factory, one cabinet factory, one tin and copper, one millinery, two shoemakers, one livery stable, one flour mill and one sawmill in operation, and one each in building.⁵²

For a village of New England derivation, the multiplicity of churches was significant of the destruction of any communal solidarity. The first denomination to organize was the Methodist, and by 1840 three others had been founded. A large Irish Catholic element settled in the village soon afterwards when the Michigan Central Railroad extended its tracks through Marshall. The railroad played a major role in breaking down the unity of the village still

⁵¹*History of Calhoun County*, 50-51; Gardner, *History of Calhoun County*, 1:233-34.

⁵²*Calhoun County Business Directory for 1869-1870*, 49-50 (Battle Creek, 1869).

more by helping to introduce these foreign, non-Yankee elements into the population.⁵³

During its formative years Marshall grew rapidly, absorbing into itself a rather cosmopolitan population. In this occurrence we see at work the economic forces which were begun so well by the four Yankee proprietors of the Marshall Land Company.

Marshall became the hub of a network of roads radiating into all parts of south central Michigan. It was the halfway point on the Territorial Road between Detroit and Chicago. Obviously Marshall was not isolated like the preceding settlements discussed. The establishment by the railroad of its workshops in Marshall heralded an industrialism which was typical of the post-Civil War development in most places. According to one source, the population of the village increased five times within the year after the coming of the railroad.⁵⁴

The bubble, unfortunately, burst when in 1847 the capital was located at Lansing. The population quickly stopped growing, and when the railroad workshops were removed in 1871, it actually declined.

In the promotion of education, however, Marshall was true to its Yankee heritage and immediately started a school, the first one opening in 1832. In 1849 Marshall organized one of the first graded schools in the state. In the first fifteen years of the village's existence a number of academies and seminaries also appeared on the scene. The residents of Marshall wanted good education for their children.⁵⁵

The real contribution in education, however, was made to the entire state by a handful of Marshall Yankees. Mention has already been made of how Isaac E. Crary was responsible for writing into the first state constitution an advanced system of public education. One of the important provisions was that of a superintendent of public instruction, which office the Rev. John D. Pierce was the

⁵³*History of Calhoun County*, 50, 61-62; Gardner, *History of Calhoun County*, 1:293-309.

⁵⁴James Cahalan, "History of St. Mary's Parish, Marshall, Michigan," in *Michigan History*, 25 (October, 1917).

⁵⁵Gardner, *History of Calhoun County*, 1:263-66; *History of Calhoun County*, 57.

first to hold. What Crary wrote into the lawbooks, Pierce put into practice, rendering invaluable leadership in developing Michigan's school system during the first years of statehood. Other Marshallites continued the tradition and during the period from 1836 to 1858 all but two superintendents of public instruction were from Marshall and one of the other two was from Albion. These contributions, though brilliant, were largely those of a few transplanted Yankees and did not represent a sustained interest on the part of the community.⁵⁶

Although the growth of Albion was never as spectacular as that of her sister city and she never had visions of greatness, the pattern of her settlement was very similar to that of Marshall. The site had water power and was on the route of the proposed cross-state railroad and that of a highway between Marshall and Monroe. Since the Territorial Road was only a short mile and a half away, the location obviously had economic possibilities.

Tenney Peabody of Niagara County, New York, was the first settler, arriving in May, 1833. In 1834 in partnership with Ware-born Warner of Connecticut, Peabody began to develop the water power with a millrace, dam, and sawmill. Warner sold his interest to Jesse Crowell who arrived in 1835 from New York.⁵⁷

It was the arrival of Crowell which marks the beginning of a really active development of The Forks, so named because two branches or forks of the Kalamazoo River converged at this spot. For the next two decades Crowell was the most influential citizen in the community, the prime mover of almost every development in community growth of any importance.

Crowell was attracted to The Forks chiefly because of its excellent water power resources, and with Peabody and several other land speculators, he formed the Albion Company whose president and general manager he became. The company bought up various holdings until it controlled nearly three fourths of the present city. The village was plotted, and in June, 1836, it received its present name. Mrs. Peabody, the first white woman in the settlement, was

⁵⁶Gardner, *History of Calhoun County*, 1:222.

⁵⁷E. G. Rust, *Calhoun County Business Directory . . . together with a History of the County*, 128-29 (Battle Creek, 1869).

asked to name it and chose Albion in honor of Crowell's hometown in New York.⁵⁸

Already the variation from the classic New England settlement was noticeable. The choice of the site was due entirely to economic reasons and the motivation of the original owner and developer was entirely speculative, a desire to make money from land sales much like the Yankee proprietors in New York. Moreover, the first colonizers of The Forks arrived in sporadic, unplanned fashion, in sharp contrast with the settlements of Vermontville and Olivet.

Under Crowell's dynamic leadership, the Albion Company took an active part in developing the community and encouraging settlement. The organization erected a bridge over the Kalamazoo River and later built two more, offered a lot to anyone who would put up a building and conduct a general store, and began erecting a gristmill which went into operation in the fall of 1837. Crowell was also responsible for the public-spirited, free gift by the Albion Company of property to church groups for the erection of houses of worship, to the Riverside Cemetery, and for a park. A definite community spirit obviously motivated Crowell and his partners.⁵⁹

Crowell's policies resulted in rapid settlement. By 1839 Albion, a village of forty houses, was growing rapidly, with mills erected, roads built, settlers swarming in, and businesses thriving. The effectiveness of Jesse Crowell's promotional policies gave him the deserved epitaph of "Albion's Greatest Benefactor." One-man domination of a village was in sharp contrast to the typical Yankee individualism, particularly since it was exercised by a businessman and not by a minister.⁶⁰

Like Marshall, Albion never knew the meaning of religious unity. Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists were established in the village by 1837. All three contributed toward the erection of a schoolhouse the following year and used it for their meeting place. Here you see a dilute example of cooperation between religion and education. The Episcopalians organized a society in Albion in the

⁵⁸Gardner, *History of Calhoun County*, 418-19; Miriam Krenerick, *Milestones and Memories*, 7 (Albion, 1932); Rust, *Calhoun County Business Directory . . . together with a History of the County*, 129.

⁵⁹Rust, *History of Calhoun County*, 130; Gardner, *History of Calhoun County*, 420; Krenerick, *Milestones and Memories*, 60.

⁶⁰Charles Weissert, *Historic Michigan*, 3:261 (Lansing, 1926); Krenerick, *Milestones and Memories*, 8.

1840's but the Congregationalists never did gain a foothold. The denominational setup was typical of western New York, but very different from that of a typically Yankee settlement, such as Olivet or Vermontville.⁶¹

The second essential in a good New England community, as we have seen, was education. For a long time provisions for primary education were inadequate in Albion. At first, there were only private schools held wherever a place could be found. Although a public schoolhouse was erected in 1838, there was little progress registered during the next twenty years.

This was definitely not typical of the New England pattern, nor was it similar to the other villages studied in this paper. The "little red school house" was used for twenty years, although the population of the community grew during that time from about seven hundred to more than two thousand. The school was very crowded, and the pupils came in shifts, one teacher having as many as one hundred pupils each day. Albion did not have graded schools until 1867, nearly twenty years after they were introduced in Marshall.⁶²

The reason for the backwardness in developing the public school system is not clear. A possible explanation is that the townspeople were called upon so often to support the college that they had neither time nor money to promote a good system of primary schools. It is also possible that the Methodists, who were the dominant element in the community, did not see the necessity of providing primary education. The promotion of the college was the only area in which the residents of Albion followed their New England heritage concerning education, though the college itself was Methodist rather than Congregational.

Albion College was founded as the result of the desire of three Yankee Methodists to "establish an academy of higher learning in Michigan." In 1835 a charter was secured for Spring Arbor Seminary, but no buildings were ever erected in that community, which was located a few miles from Albion. The projected institution

⁶¹Gardner, *History of Calhoun County*, 458-66.

⁶²Gardner, *History of Calhoun County*, 1:227, 433; Krenerick, *Milestones and Memories*, 145.

almost died from inaction when Jesse Crowell, through the Albion Company, offered the seminary sixty acres of land and three village blocks if it would move to Albion. This proffer was accepted, and in 1839 the change was effected. At the same time the name of the institution was changed to Wesleyan Seminary. The Rev. Loring Grant, formerly of western New York, as agent of the college, secured funds for buildings, and the first one was begun in 1841. It was completed in 1843, and the school opened that year under the direction of the Rev. Charles F. Stockwell, a graduate of Middletown University. The name was changed once more to Albion College in 1861. Both men and women were admitted.⁶³

Although the college was an important part of village life, it was never the pivot of all activities as was the case at Olivet, and it was never allowed to dominate the life of the community as was the case in the latter settlement.

The third pillar of New England society was found also in Albion, as it was in all Michigan townships. There were the usual town meetings held at least once a year. But the village of Albion lay in two different townships, and unitary local government was impossible. This did not seem to perturb the settlers, however, who clung to their New England type of government until 1855, when it was voted to incorporate as a village. For Yankees, the inhabitants of Albion showed very little interest in public affairs.⁶⁴

But however slow the settlers may have been in public affairs, this was not true in business. From the first mills erected by the Albion Company to the present time, the community has been a thriving commercial and manufacturing center. In 1845 Crowell built the stone mill, which was one of the finest of its time, and ground grain "day and night for thirty years." An intrusion of industry began when a foundry was established in 1846, and two years later two men from New York formed a company to manufacture threshing machines. From the very beginning the settlers were entirely preoccupied with material advancement. Economic activity as a primary goal was foreign to the religious-centered classic New England settlement,

⁶³Gardner, *History of Calhoun County*, 117, 119; Rust, *History of Calhoun County*, 138; *Old Albion 1861-1909* (Albion, 1909?).

⁶⁴Everts, *History of Calhoun County*, 106, 108.

but in Albion it occupied a central place in men's thoughts. Individualism in economic life as well as in settlement characterized the town.⁶⁵

Thus, both Marshall and Albion, settled by Yankees, were radical departures from the old-style settlement. Apparently the farther the settlers departed from the typical New England village the faster they grew. Albion, the largest of the four settlements discussed, embodied the least amount of the New England ideals. Other cities in this area, such as Jackson, Battle Creek, and Kalamazoo, were also founded by Yankees but because of the emphasis on economic factors, even less of the traditional New England settlement was in evidence and they grew even more than did Albion and Marshall.

A study of the settlements selected by this paper reveals the fact that, despite exceptions like Vermontville and Olivet, and despite the Yankee origin of most of the population, the traditional New England type of cohesive community largely disintegrated on the Michigan frontier. The reasons for this were many and varied, but probably influence of cheap land upon speculation was the greatest single cause of this decay. Land speculation was a craze by the 1830's as is made evident by the fact that most of the town sites of the time were owned and developed by men whose major objective was to make money on their holdings. Only the colonies of Vermontville and Olivet were established by other than speculators, and even in the latter the founder, Shipherd, had hoped to use profits from land sales to finance his college.

The development of sites by speculators, rather than by proprietors whose purpose it was to serve as agents for group settlement, tended to attract individualistic and haphazard immigration. Moreover, the proprietors were not concerned with the religious beliefs and character of those who came as long as they had money to buy land, and the result was that these communities rapidly became peopled with inhabitants chiefly interested in materialistic aims rather than with compact groups intent upon common spiritual objectives.

The introduction of industry into a village also tended to destroy the community spirit which did exist, for it imported extraneous

⁶⁵Krenerick, *Milestones and Memories*, 8, 61.

institutions, ideas, and peoples into the population. The Irish in Marshall and the Germans and Jews in Jackson, brought in by the early railroads and factories, are the chief examples of this development. It is significant, however, that the towns in which industry was established were the ones which grew into substantial towns and the larger they became the fewer the Yankee characteristics which remained. This is strikingly illustrated by the towns in this study. Vermontville and Olivet were poorly located for economic growth. Their founders were not concerned with materialistic aims and consequently they never grew; they always remained villages. They also remained strongly Puritan in their organization, church-centeredness, and lack of economic motivation. Marshall, the third smallest town in population, retained many New England characteristics, as for instance its strong interest in education; but its many religious institutions and its materialistic outlook bespoke the individualism and pluralism of the frontier.

The striking emphasis placed upon economic considerations by the founders and settlers of such villages as Albion, Battle Creek, and Jackson was due partly to the fact that most of the earliest inhabitants migrated from frontier regions in the East, notably western New York, where individualism and materialism already had taken root, and where, even there, making a living had come to be considered more important than leading a Godly life. The long exposure of these Yankees to frontier conditions and points of view was certain to modify their way of life, and resulted in a partial breakdown of the old unified way of life even before this stream of Yankee migration reached Michigan's wilderness. Here, the continuing impact of frontier conditions produced further disintegration of the characteristic New England community.

Still, the Yankee settlers in south-central Michigan, though they abandoned or modified many of the institutions and habits held by their ancestors, clung to some of them. There were still inherited integrating factors at work to counteract the destruction of community spirit.

With the exception of Vermontville, where the church remained the chief influence in tending to keep the community a cohesive unity, in the remainder of the towns examined in this paper education was the strongest tie. Even in those villages where other New

England influences tended to disappear, the emphasis on the supreme importance of education remained strong. In each village the schoolhouse was a center of interest and activity, a survival of the Puritan conviction that only an educated man could be a Godly citizen. Hence, the attention paid to founding common school systems nearly everywhere, in addition to academies and colleges which were established in several villages.

As already indicated, in the pristine Puritan town religion was the primary integrating institution and, though in diluted form in most places, helped to maintain New England culture on the Michigan frontier. This was strikingly true in Vermontville and somewhat less so in Olivet, where there was only one sect, the Congregationalists. This situation preserved the religious unity of the people so characteristic of old New England.

Religious life in the other towns, however, was divided into several different denominations and, though the worship of God always played an important part in the frontiersman's life, a babel of religious tongues helped to destroy the group spirit of the communities and eventually helped to produce a decline in the importance of religion in general.

Township government was borrowed from New England, too, and in Michigan was preserved as an institution of local government by a provision in the state's constitution calling for town meetings in each township. Thus, each of these settlements was governed under an institution of Yankee derivation until it was chartered as a village, when a corporate form of government took its place. Town meetings were common to all Michigan townships of this period.

The last major factor which served to preserve New England influence in the early settlements was the nativity of the residents, which was almost invariably Yankee. This was particularly noticeable in Vermontville and Olivet, the two settled by group migration. In the former, almost the entire population came from one small district of Vermont; the people were bound together by close ties because they were agreed to migrate to Michigan. Marshall and Albion represented the introduction of individuals of dispersed origin. In the larger cities a heterogeneous population with an infusion of non-Yankee stock helped to reduce the cohesive quality of the old New England town almost to nothing.

With such exceptions as Vermontville and Olivet, the communities of south-central Michigan, because of the pressures of the frontier and later of a rising industrialism, drifted away from the New England tradition, but despite the partial breakdown of the classic mold, Yankee ideals in education, government, and religion were never wholly absent in any of the villages studied in this paper, and in two they remained strikingly dominant. Judged by these communities established in frontier Michigan, the Wolverine State was, indeed, even if in diluted form, a "Third New England."

Local History and the High School Teacher

Donald F. Lewis

FOURTEEN YEARS AGO THE LATE THEODORE CALVIN PEASE of the University of Illinois made this brief statement in support of the use of local history in our schools:

Teaching the child the history of his own county can very easily lead him on to an interest in the history of his state, of his region, and of his nation. From the streets of Rock Island a path to the foot of the Lincoln Memorial at Washington and all it stands for will be natural and inevitable.

This statement is as true now as it was then. Certainly the passage of time has served to bring increased emphasis upon this area of teaching.¹

On several occasions I have asked adults of different age groups just what they remembered most vividly of their high school history classes. I must admit with few exceptions their recollections were not too flattering. Their memories seem pretty barren of anything except lists of presidential administrations and dates they had to memorize. Some persons have confessed they like history now but they really hated the subject when they were in school. It is a relief to note that it is the older persons who paint the more gloomy picture. The younger ones give some indication that the subject had its brighter moments which gives one the feeling that we are doing a better job. It is also comforting to reflect that their dislike for school history and their subsequent liking for history cannot be blamed entirely upon colorless teaching. The maturing mind with its expansion of associations and experiences over a period of years is the most likely reason for the conversion. It is consoling to know at last those scattered brains have jelled to the point where their teachers wished them to be when they tried to teach these persons ten years ago!

It is difficult to believe that any teacher would exclude the use of local history entirely. For the few who do it might be safe to

¹Mr. Lewis gave this paper at the Saturday morning session, April 22, 1961, of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association meeting in Detroit.

assume they are persons who have met certification requirements and have been drafted to teach history. I doubt if anyone belonging to this category would give up a perfectly good Saturday morning to be here. I prefer to believe that those who are here today are using local history to some extent, some very effectively, and others who would make greater application with more enthusiasm perhaps if given time and materials.

First of all I would like to correct anyone's impression that local history is an adventure in slumming or that one need feel apologetic because of any romantic atmosphere with which he might associate his locale. If the teacher is criticized because he lights up like a glowworm when narrating an episode of his local area—simply ignore the critic. The world is pretty well stocked with those operating with dimmed headlights. As to the status of local history, the professional historian now knows where to look for the grass-roots beginnings of the major movements of the past.

It is perhaps in the motivational features of local history that the busiest teacher may awaken his students for enjoyment of the subject. Perhaps the greatest complaint that students have ever made is that history seems remote as to time and place. Certainly one of the most accepted principles of teaching is to proceed from the known to the unknown. Local history provides vividness and reality to a story, which, without the more familiar setting, may be shrouded in dullness.

In attempting to use the local approach, it is never good policy for the teacher who is new in a community to assume that his students probably know about the historical connections of their own environment. As you may know, this limitation of local history information is not confined exclusively to the youth of a community; many adults also show that they have little or no insight into the past of their own locale. A newcomer often views his location with a fresher vision and has a natural inclination to observe and compare those things which are different. Proof of this native indifference to what is around them may be seen in this illustration. While on a walking tour of Boston's historical spots a few years ago, I had just left Paul Revere's cottage and was following my guidebook in quest of the Old North Church. At a point where I thought

the church would be, I was in front of a school which was just then dismissing for the day. The kids were dashing out as if from a burning building when I grabbed one long enough to ask him the location of the Old North Church. He managed to blurt out as he dashed across the street, "I don't know, I don't live around here!" Resuming my walk, just a few seconds later I observed the church around the corner from the school! In fairness to the boy, I must add that the name of the church is Christ Church and one would never associate it with the famous church and the lantern episode merely walking by the edifice.

After soliciting your indulgence for references to my personal teaching area, I should like to enumerate a number of motivational items for sake of illustration. While these references may have no bearing upon your location in local history, some connections may come to your minds as I present some of mine.

Alton is a Mississippi River town located just a few miles above the mouth of the wide Missouri and a few miles south of Grafton where the Illinois River flows into the Mississippi. St. Louis lies approximately twenty miles down the river from Alton. St. Charles, former state capital of Missouri and final stomping grounds of Daniel Boone, is closer than St. Louis. Springfield and New Salem, the Lincoln country, are two hours north. Quincy, an old river town, and Hannibal, habitat of Mark Twain, are within Sunday picnicking distance. To the south are the early French settlements of Illinois: Cahokia, where Pontiac was murdered; Prairie du Rocher; Fort Chartres; and New Kaskaskia. Historical atmosphere of the old French region is so thick here that one revels in its charm. By crossing the river to Kaskaskia Island—that part of Illinois which lies west of the Mississippi—one may see the "Liberty Bell of the West" which was rung in the old church in the old town when George Rogers Clark took over the area from the British during the Revolution. A glimpse of Canada may be seen at the old French town of Ste. Genevieve a few miles up the river from the island.

Nearness to St. Louis places Alton within gravitational pull of that city so strongly that its historical connections are almost local. Its bicentennial celebration only a few years away will bring

an abundance of historical material for the history classes of southwestern Illinois.

Alton and Madison County lie in the northern tier of southern Illinois counties. Extending southward to the Ohio River, this is the area commonly called Egypt. Almost in the center of Egypt is Vandalia, the western terminus of the old Cumberland Road and second capital of Illinois. Fringing the Ohio River banks are old Shawneetown, Cave-in-Rock, former river pirate's nest, Rosiclare, Elizabethtown, Golconda, Metropolis, Joppa, Mound City, and Cairo. The Civil War did not figure very prominently in Egypt with the exception of Grant's activities at Cairo in preparing for the Forts Donelson and Henry campaign; the activities of the Knights of the Golden Circle around Mekanda or Grant City Park below Carbondale; and the contributions of Murphysboro's General John A. Logan. Now this area may be too extensive to be called local history, but I would not hesitate to call it that if necessary for the stimulation of student interest.

Reducing the area to the immediate county of Madison, our students in 1962 will have the advantage of witnessing the celebration of their county's 150th birthday. Edwardsville, the county seat, was the residence of five Illinois governors—a total of eight living at one time within the county. One of the town's chief distinctions is that its people make no claim that Abraham Lincoln ever spent the night in their fair city. They have proof, however, that Lincoln visited their town on two occasions.

Monks' Mound, near Collinsville and the habitat of early Indian tribes, satisfies those students with archaeological interests. The story of the Indian massacre and scalping of seven persons in the area between the forks of Wood River, July 14, 1814, is bloodthirsty enough for a television thriller. At the mouth of the Wood River, near the town of that name, is the camp site of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Here, and not in St. Louis, during the winter the men were trained and from here they departed in May, 1804, upon their remarkable voyage to the Pacific Coast. In the same area Zebulon M. Pike narrowly escaped death by tomahawk before he had a chance to discover his peak in the Rockies.

Limiting the range to Alton, which was platted in 1817, its posi-

tion on the river with its ferry boats gave to the town a prominent role in the wagon train movement to the West. On the river bluff near Alton is the reproduction of a painting which draws tourists from all over America—that of the Piasa Bird. This fantastic bird-like dragon with distinctive Oriental features was noticed by Marquette and Jolliet as they passed down the river in 1673. High school students are fascinated by the strange appearance of the Oriental influence among American Indians—suggestive perhaps of the Bering Strait crossover to North America!

Located across the river from slave-holding territory, the slavery controversy was climaxed in Alton by the murder of Elijah Lovejoy, courageous antislavery crusader, by a proslavery mob near the river front in 1837. This story is a dramatic one.

Alton had the first penitentiary in Illinois. A visit there by Dorothea Dix, famous woman reformer in the 1840's, who complained of the muddy dirt floor in the prison mess hall plus the constant disapproval of the institution by the townspeople caused its abandonment after the completion of a new penitentiary in Joliet. An even more dramatic association belongs to the old prison. Because of the overflow of Confederate prisoners in all available buildings in St. Louis during the war, several thousands were brought by steamboat to Alton. Filled to overflowing, a smallpox epidemic broke out, causing hundreds of deaths and eventual burial in the Confederate cemetery in North Alton. Daring attempts at escape by prisoners and the hardships of prison life present a graphic picture of the prisoner problem during the Civil War. A portion of the interior wall stands today as mute testimony of the hardships endured there.

The seventh and last of the Lincoln-Douglas debates was held in Alton, October 15, 1858. The old hotel which served as Lincoln's headquarters is still standing. Alton is also connected with the Lincoln-Shields duel which was supposed to have been fought with broadswords on Sunflower Island across from Alton. The story is both humorous and interesting but is so strongly flavored with legend that it has little value.

In connection with authenticity or lack of it in relation to local history, the students enjoy the opportunity to perform historical

sleuthing. Several years ago a New Orleans biographer, Stanley Clisby Arthur, wrote a new biography of Jean Lafitte, the pirate of New Orleans. Breaking away from the usually accepted version of Lafitte's activities and death, Mr. Arthur gave to Alton the honor of being Lafitte's place of burial. This story was that Lafitte had returned to the United States following a residence in Central America to take up residence in St. Louis. In this city he had assumed the name of Lafflin and had gone into the gunpowder manufacturing business, to live a life of respectability. Using Bible and other records tendered him by a man reputed to be Lafitte's great grandson, the biographer goes on to say that at the age of seventy-four Lafitte contracted his illness while helping an indigent family near Edwardsville, our county seat, and was buried in the northwest corner on a gently sloping hillside a mile or two outside and north of Alton! What a revelation this was! At last my students felt now with the bones of Jean Lafitte in their home town they had someone to compete with Missouri's Jesse James.

Establishment of the authenticity of Mr. Arthur's claim to Lafitte's burial in Alton appeared at first to be quite simple to the students. However, we all discovered very soon that burial plats were incomplete. To find an unmarked grave proved practically impossible. The impulse by our more zealous students to go out and dig on any designated hillside for the bones of the lusty buccaneer was ended quickly by the realization that searching for a phantom would indeed put us all on the same team with Don Quixote and Sancho Panza. Consequently, brawn yielded to brain when it was decided to attempt verification of the biography itself. Fortunately for us amateurs, Mr. Arthur's claim of Lafitte's St. Louis residence had set off a silent but thorough investigation several weeks earlier by the Missouri Historical Society. By reference to materials available to them their staff had little difficulty in exploding the entire biography. The details of the investigation by the historical society are interesting and when the real truth of the two men responsible for the book is unraveled, the yarn will be a lively one indeed.

Since the time of the book's exposé, I have continued to tell the story, which I have just related, to my classes when we are studying the War of 1812 and Jackson's victory at New Orleans. The battle

leads directly to the name of Lafitte and the temptation to tell the students of the Alton burial fraud is irresistible. This information is still new to the students and the interest they display is highly gratifying. The use of this information is the subject of disagreement between Mr. Charles Van Ravenswaay, director of the Missouri Historical Society, and me. He says the biography should not be mentioned because its fraudulent claims only serve to build up another historical myth.

I think it is only fair to consider that teachers might find themselves teaching in a community which seems particularly devoid of any significant connections of a local nature which might correlate with the general stream of history. This might require an extension of the region of local consideration to a wider radius which will include more usable material. Or the teacher might be forced to resort to a keener sense of detection of those things which might be used—particularly in the newer towns. For example, quite recently the city of Wood River, which rose from a watermelon patch fifty years ago, celebrated its half-century anniversary. A historical tabloid was published containing the development from melon patch to a huge refinery of the Standard Oil Company. One could see the industrial revolution unfold and particularly the development of the oil industry.

Best results can be obtained when the teacher is able to set up study units containing those topics of local interest which may be correlated with the general stream of history. In 1943 Paul M. Angle, now secretary of the Chicago Historical Society and member of the executive committee of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and Richard L. Beyer, former head of the history department of Southern Illinois University, collaborated in preparing an excellent *Handbook of Illinois History*. Since then the teachers of Illinois have had much of their work already done for them whether they realize it or not. The syllabus consists of a framework of eleven major topics of American history—these topics being selected on the basis of course outlines submitted by typical high schools—rural and urban. The general topics are stated briefly, but the Illinois phases of the general topics are set forth at some length. Excellent teacher references are given. Some references are for

scholarly consumption and others of a more popular nature. The historical fiction list contains some books no longer available, but frequent revision is essential anyway. As may be seen, the handbook emphasizes the use of state history, but in doing so each unit amplifies some specific region or locale.

The teacher will find many counties which have published histories at some time. Some of these were often more concerned with making money than providing historical accuracy when they were published. But a few county histories are excellent. The town newspapers often have copies of special editions containing historical information. Sometimes a newspaper reporter will write a short feature making known the teacher's desire for historical material. The response to this call is usually one of two extremes—the teacher is swamped, often with irrelevant material, or his entreaties for help are ignored altogether. However, this device is worth a try. It brought our library two copies of Brink's *History of Madison County*, which had become both rare and expensive.

Perhaps the most obvious sources of local history, and certainly the most neglected in our area, are the local historical societies. We have five such groups in our county, two of which meet monthly during the school year. It is safe to say that no more than three or four teachers attend the meetings. This neglect by history teachers exists despite the fact that these local groups have been established for a long time and possess very few of the faults sometimes exhibited by this kind of organization. The Madison County Historical Society maintains an excellent museum and research library in the courthouse in Edwardsville.

The failure to utilize information from local historical societies might be traceable to several causes: lack of time and the inability or the unwillingness to devote a Sunday afternoon or an evening to a meeting. Sometimes the meetings do not meet with approval of the teacher since they are barren of value. Because the teacher realizes that he becomes a "sitting duck" for program chairmen after attending only one or two sessions, he is prone to stay away from the meetings. Those teachers who do attend must be those persons willing to serve when called upon or those who can say "No!" with their reflexes.

Lacking time to participate with local groups, the teacher will find membership in his state historical organization of great value in accenting local history. This is particularly true with the Illinois State Historical Society, which is conducting today its annual spring meeting at Cairo. For a three dollar membership fee each member receives several historical publications during the year. The organization works directly with junior and senior high schools in publishing a monthly publication entitled *Illinois History*. The articles cover a wide range of subjects and are written by students as well as a few submitted by professional historians. Readily available to the interested teachers are the displays of the museum at Springfield and the nationally known Lincoln collections. In addition a historymobile, a museum on wheels, tours the state in accordance with a schedule.

Another great aid for the teacher who would use local history in his teaching may be found in college classes on the subject of state history. The University of Illinois has offered courses in Illinois history for years. Southern Illinois University and other teacher colleges in the state offer courses of this nature as well as some of the private colleges—but on a more restricted basis. Some colleges have conducted short courses in Illinois history for a two or three-week period. Two-week workshops in Illinois history and contemporary Illinois history are being offered by the Illinois State Normal University for the summer of 1961.

For best results in utilizing local history, in my opinion, it is necessary to change the physical features of the history classroom from the traditional type containing as many rows of chairs as the room will permit to one with enough space to permit flexibility. It is essential to the success of the program to be able to expand into a laboratory situation as many days as desired during the week. Tables in the classroom where students may spread out their material are needed. Note taking from newspaper files and other materials cannot be done successfully when seated in tablet arm chairs jammed together. And certainly organized writing of any kind is almost impossible.

Materials of a local nature especially should be in the classroom and not several floors away in the school library. Here the facilities

may be used during the class period under the supervision of a teacher who has a particular knowledge and interest in the work being done.

Filing cabinets with complete index guides for each drawer should be part of the equipment. Drawer material may be designated general United States history, state, county, and city, with material filed in folders arranged alphabetically. I have found the filing system most effective for special editions of newspapers. When two copies of the same paper are available, we clip the articles and paste them with rubber cement on thin cardboard. This preserves the paper and permits greater usage of the materials. If only one copy of a newspaper or magazine is available, all articles are indexed either on a card file or simply an alphabetical listing. This reduces soiling and tearing associated with turning the paper. And finally, I think the room needs some sort of storage cabinet — large enough to hold full sheet newspaper files, cardboard for mounting, rubber cement, etc. A few shelves in the cabinet will be needed for keeping rare or expensive books.

In conclusion, I repeat, local or regional history has a place, and a very definite place, in the presentation of a general course in United States history. The quality and quantity of this instruction depends upon the teacher for the decision must be his to make the story of our country and its people as dynamic and as interesting as he knows how.

In assisting young people to respect the distinctive personalities of their own communities and to motivate their desire for understanding, the teacher may do much to establish a local pride which becomes the basis of a national patriotism without which our democratic institutions might not survive.

Jacksonian Democracy in Mrs. Kirkland's *A New Home — Who'll Follow?*

John C. McCloskey

WHEN MRS. CAROLINE MATILDA STANSBURY KIRKLAND (her pseudonym was Mrs. Mary Clavers), temporarily resident in Michigan, went west from Detroit in 1835 with her husband, who purposed to found a town on land which he had bought under the impetus of the speculative spirit of the times, she found many things in the backwoods which to her realistic mind and her satiric bent were either amusing or out of accord with facts. Excess, pretension, and affectation of all kinds she disliked with an honesty and an intensity remarkable in an eastern literary lady writing in a romantic and sentimental age. The letters which she wrote to her friends in New York she collected into a volume of sketches entitled *A New Home—Who'll Follow? Or, Glimpses of Western Life* (1839), a book which is an illuminating historical and literary document.¹ Among topics which she treated with candor and humor was the democracy of the backwoods.

Western individualism, equalitarianism, and the frontier spirit were rather sorry things as depicted by Mrs. Kirkland. The shibboleths so attractively pictured in the abstract and from afar were no nearer the truth of back-country Michigan than the romantic pictures of the American woods painted by Francois René de Chateaubriand and Basil Hall. Glamorous as the ideal of Jacksonian democracy in the 1830's might have been, in practice in the back areas it was, she thought, a dubious thing, a fit subject for enlightened laughter. Pride, founded on the equalitarian concept, often resulted in a stiff-necked pretence which distorted facts.

Backwoods domestics, for instance, she described as sturdy Jacksonian democrats who in no sense considered themselves servants, although the work they did was servants' work. Not only were

¹There is very little scholarship on Mrs. Kirkland. Nearly everything available is in the nature of either biographical data or brief statements praising her work.

the girls and women who worked out extremely independent of spirit, but living with someone for wages they considered by common consent a favor. Satirically Mrs. Kirkland reported:

To be sure, I had one damsel who crammed herself almost to suffocation with sweetmeats and other things which she esteemed very nice; and ate up her own pies and cakes, to the exclusion of those for whom they were intended; who would put her head in at a door, with — "Miss Clavers, did you holler! I thought I heered a yell."

And another who was highly offended, because room was not made for her at table with guests from the city, and that her company was not requested for tea visits. And this latter high-born damsel sent in from the kitchen a circumstantial account in writing, of the instances wherein she considered herself aggrieved; well written it was too, and expressed with much naiveté, and abundant respect.²

Mrs. Kirkland's portrait of the backwoods politician, Mr. Simeon Jenkins, a man as good as anyone, so he declared, and fit for any office, was a devastating satire on a type long familiar to American political life.³ Mr. Jenkins began his political career as a mere boy of eight years, having been employed by his mother to sell a basket of hard-boiled eggs on election day. He sold all his eggs by passing as a Democrat with Democrats and as a Whig with Whigs. This utter lack of political principle, excusable perhaps in a boy of eight, became the premise of Mr. Jenkins' political creed, and he often dwelt with unctuous satisfaction upon his debut in which he so expediently cut his political eyeteeth. Such a person Mrs. Kirkland viewed with distrust.

From this auspicious commencement may be dated Mr. Jenkins' glowing desire to serve the public. Each successive election day saw him at his post. From eggs he advanced to pies, from pies to almanacs, whiskey, powder and shot, foot-balls, playing-cards, and at length he brought into the field a large turkey, which was tied to a post and stoned to death at twenty-five cents a throw. By this time the still youthful aspirant had become quite the man of the world; could smoke twenty-four cigars per diem, if anybody else would pay for them; play

²A *New Home—Who'll Follow? Or, Glimpses of Western Life*, 62, third edition (New York, 1841).

³The lack of fitness of candidates for public office has been a perennial object of satire. From William Byrd's satire of the Virginia and Carolina commissioners through Hugh Henry Brackenridge, Washington Irving, and James Fenimore Cooper down to our own day it has been a subject of enduring interest.

cards in old Hurler's shop from noon till day-break, and rise winner; and all this with suitable trimmings of gin and hard words. But he never lost sight of the main chance. He had made up his mind to serve his country, and he was all this time convincing his fellow-citizens of the disinterested purity of his sentiments.⁴

By his own definition Mr. Jenkins was a patriot engaged in patriotic activities, patriotism being, of course, a matter of furthering his own interests. This identification of self-interest with the general good Mrs. Kirkland found hypocritical, amusing though it might be for purposes of caricature.

"Patriotism!" Mr. Jenkins would say, "patriotism is the thing! any man that's too proud to serve his country aint fit to live. Some thinks so much o' themselves, that if they can't have jist what they think they're fit for, they won't take nothin; but for my part, I call myself an American citizen; and any office that's in the gift o' the people will suit me. I'm up to any thing. And as there ain't no other man about here, no suitable man, I mean, that's got a horse, why I'd be willing to be constable, if the people's a mind to, though it would be a dead loss to me in my business to be sure; but I could do any thing for my country. Hurra for patriotism! them's my sentiments."⁵

Mrs. Kirkland's caricature of Mr. Jenkins, the expedient politician, was sharp. Whenever he found himself in the minority party, he switched parties, rationalizing his desertion of party and principle by arguing that he could not display his zealous patriotism unless he got elected and how could he get elected if his party were not in power? His reasons for his "ratting"⁶ he explained persuasively to his fellow citizens. His personal friends were on one side, his beloved country on the other; this dilemma he successfully resolved:

"My candid and unrefragable opinion is, that rather than remain useless, buckled down to the shop, and indulging in selfishness, it is my solemn dooty. And now, if any man calls me a turn-coat," continued the orator, gently spitting on his hands, rubbing them together, and rolling his eyes round the assembly, "all I say is, let him say it so that I can hear him."

⁴*A New Home—Who'll Follow?*, 268.

⁵*A New Home—Who'll Follow?*, 268.

⁶See James Fenimore Cooper's remarks in 1835 on the "flapjacks" of Brigadier Downright in *The Monikins*, 228f (Boston, n.d.).

⁷*A New Home—Who'll Follow?*, 270.

This last argument, Mrs. Kirkland remarked, was irresistible, for Mr. Jenkins stands six feet two in his stockings, when he wears any, and gesticulates with a pair of arms as long and muscular as Rob Roy's. So, though the audience did not cheer him, they contented themselves with dropping off one by one, without calling in question the patriotism of the rising statesman. At the next election Mr. Jenkins was made justice of the peace.⁹

Another aspect of backwoods patriotism appealed to Mrs. Kirkland's sense of the absurd. She satirized people who "do their duty to their country" and neglect their own families. Workmen left their jobs and went off to election or town meeting, whatever the distance and in whatever need their families might have been. "The virtuous indignation," she acidly remarked, "which is called forth by any attempt at dissuading one of the sovereigns from exercising 'the noblest privilege of freemen,' to forward your business and his own, is most amusingly provoking."¹⁰

In backwoods Michigan, Jacksonian democracy ran rampant. Everyone was proud and equal. There were no humble neighbors. No act of kindness, no offer of aid was considered anything short of insult if there appeared the least suspicion of condescension. To the shrewd and realistic Mrs. Kirkland this democratic pride was pretense and hypocrisy, an application of the extremity of the leveling spirit to most inappropriate objects. Satirically she remarked:

Equality, perfect and practical, is the *sine qua non*; and any appearance of a desire to avoid this rather trying fraternization, is invariably met by a fierce and indignant resistance. The spirit in which was conceived the motto of the French revolution, "La fraternité ou la mort," exists in full force among us, though modified as to results. In cities we bestow charity — in the country we can only exchange kind offices, nominally at least. If you are perfectly aware that your nearest neighbor has not tasted meat in a month, nor found in his pocket the semblance of a shilling to purchase it, you must not be surprised, when you have sent him a piece, to receive for reply,

"O! your pa wants to change, does he? Well, you may put it down." And this without the remotest idea that the time for repayment will ever arrive, but merely to avoid saying "I thank you," a phrase especially eschewed, so far as I have had opportunity to observe.¹¹

⁹A *New Home—Who'll Follow?*, 270.

¹⁰A *New Home—Who'll Follow?*, 76.

¹¹A *New Home—Who'll Follow?*, 289.

This same republican spirit, Mrs. Kirkland said, was amusingly displayed in the reluctance of these backwoods democrats to admire, or even to approve, any luxury or convenience not in common use among the settlers. If a person was fortunate enough to possess carpets, they were slightly spoken of as "one way to hide dirt"; mahogany tables were contemptuously dismissed as "dreadful plaguy to scour"; and kitchen conveniences were disparaged as "lumberin up the house for nothin'." Others approached the matter reprovingly: "They 'don't think it right to spend money so'; they think too, that 'pride never did nobody no good'; and some will go so far as to suggest modes of disposing of your superfluities."¹¹

It followed, of course, that the equalitarian concept extended also to borrowing, and here it reached full flower. Whatever was yours, Mrs. Kirkland explained, was likewise your neighbor's. The leveling reason "'cause you've plenty" was considered by the backwoods democrats sufficient for sharing anything. To refuse to share with the community—money, household utensils, horses, wheelbarrows, shovels, and copper kettles—was regarded as an unpardonable crime, for what anyone owned belonged to the public, which did not think it even necessary to ask for a loan, but took it for granted. Beds, blankets, sheets, she sarcastically remarked, traveled from house to house, and sieves, smoothing irons, and churns ran about as if they had legs. "For my part," she tartly declared,

I have lent my broom, my thread, my tape, my spoons, my cat, my thimble, my scissors, my shawl, my shoes; and have been asked for my combs and brushes; and my husband, for his shaving apparatus and his pantaloons.¹²

Attempts were made even to borrow babies. It was the manner of the borrowing that Mrs. Kirkland found most exasperating, for it was based upon an extreme concept of democratic leveling, which carried matters to the absurd.

Although in *A New Home—Who'll Follow?* Mrs. Kirkland did not formally assume any political position,¹³ it is evident that she disapproved as did Hugh Henry Brackenridge and James

¹¹*A New Home—Who'll Follow?*, 289f.

¹²*A New Home—Who'll Follow?*, 106f.

¹³Mrs. Kirkland was the granddaughter of the loyalist poet, Joseph Stansbury. *Dictionary of American Biography*, 10: 430f (New York, 1933).

Fenimore Cooper, of the excesses of democracy which led people, on the premise of equality, into ridiculous extremes. Violations of common sense, of fact, and of reason she found exasperating and properly the objects of satire. Amusing as some of its aspects might be, the Jacksonianism of the Michigan back areas, as it revealed itself in daily life, she placed in this category.

Public School Education in Detroit

Floyd R. Dain

TONIGHT I WOULD LIKE TO TALK TO YOU for a little while about a significant event in the educational history of Detroit—the opening of the city's first public high school on August 30, 1858.¹ I have time during this broadcast to present but a small portion of the story of the development of secondary education in Detroit, but between now and the end of the year the city's twenty-two high schools will utilize various mediums to tell a more complete story as they celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of the first high school.

Secondary education at public expense did not just happen in 1858. Actually, the opening of the first high school was the culmination of a long-time effort on the part of public-spirited citizens. A notice, which appeared in the *Detroit Free Press* on August 28, 1858, announcing the opening of the first high school represented a great victory for those who believed that the city and state could no longer afford not to provide an education for their youth. For years they had looked forward to this day—and for years they had struggled to overcome lethargy, ignorance, resentment, intolerance, stinginess, and organized resistance.

During the French and British periods in Detroit, little was done to educate the youth of the town. Some children were taught the rudiments of reading and writing through the efforts of the church, and those of the more prosperous element may have received some education through private tutors, or may have been sent to private schools in Montreal, Albany, or New York City. But there were no public educational facilities whatsoever.

Although the American flag was raised over Detroit in 1796, it was yet a number of years before there was any appreciable progress in providing an education for the young. The few American youngsters who lived in the town between 1796 and the outbreak

¹Mr. Dain was the sixth speaker in a series of twelve weekly broadcasts sponsored by the Essex County Tourist Association in the spring of 1958, over station CKLW, Windsor.

of the War of 1812 were for the most part the sons and daughters of army officers, government officials, and traders, who were possessed of the means to hire private tutors or to pay their tuition at the various private schools which were in existence from time to time. During much of this time Detroit was a part of the Northwest Territory whose seat of government in southern Ohio was far removed from the town and whose officials were so much occupied with problems confronting the new American settlements along the Ohio River that they could give little thought to the educational needs of a little frontier post consisting of French habitants, Indians, a number of half-breeds, a few English, and even fewer Americans.

Michigan became a separate territory in 1805 with Detroit its capital. The great fire of that year and the subsequent problems involved in the laying out and rebuilding of a new town again delayed any action toward meeting educational needs. In February, 1809, the legislature of the territory passed an act which authorized the raising by taxation of a sum not to exceed four dollars for each child between the ages of four and eighteen to be used to support district schools. Evidently this act was never placed into effect. The threat of Indian attack and the growing fear of war with Britain brought military needs to the forefront and few indeed were those in the community who could put aside their fears and anxieties long enough to give thought to educating youngsters who had never been inside a schoolroom, couldn't speak English, and didn't appreciate the idea of being confined anyway.

When war did come in 1812, Detroit was conquered, reconquered, and devastated by both armies. At war's end in 1815, it was in a sad situation, its trade ruined, its economy disrupted, its public buildings and records destroyed, and many of its people dependent upon the federal government for their livelihood. During the months following the war, a few farseeing men joined forces to try to lift Detroit out of its rut of hopelessness and to try to make it a more attractive place for Americans to come to and settle. Government officials, religious leaders, and business men were all in agreement on one significant point: some form of public education must be devised if the town and territory were to be

rehabilitated. Fortunately, all of these men were men of learning and all were certain that by educating the young they could help the city pull itself up by its bootstraps. Each has left his name marked indelibly in the history of the city: Lewis Cass, Augustus B. Woodward, Gabriel Richard, John Monteith, William Woodbridge, and John R. Williams are among the more prominent. They appealed to the French, who were in the great majority, to take a greater interest in education. Written in French, the following editorial appeared in the *Detroit Gazette* on August 8, 1817:

Frenchmen of the Territory of Michigan! You ought to begin immediately to give an education to your children. In a little time there will be in this Territory as many Yankees as French, and if you do not have your children educated, the situations will all be given to the Yankees. No man is capable of serving as a civil and military officer unless he can at least read and write. There are many young people of from eighteen to twenty years, who have not yet learned to read, but they are not yet too old to learn. I have known those who have learned to read at the age of forty years.

Later the same month, the territorial legislature passed an act establishing the Catholepistemiad or University of Michigania. The plan and the terminology for this institution were the brain-children of Judge Woodward, but most of the men mentioned above were probably consulted and were in agreement upon its basic concepts. It was designed to provide education from the lowest grade through the university. It was to be a complete system of education supported in part by public taxation, in part by legalized lotteries, and in part by the payment of tuition. The territory, however, agreed to pay the tuition of any student who could prove that he was unable to pay. The institution was to be nonsectarian and under the direction of a board consisting of the professors holding the thirteen professorships provided for by the law. The territorial legislature consisting of the governor and judges would appoint the professors. Since the Reverend John Monteith, a Protestant clergyman, was named to hold seven of the professorships, and Father Gabriel Richard the remaining six, together they were to have complete control over the new system, including the academies, schools, libraries, botanical gardens, museums, and university.

The cornerstone of a building to house the Catholepistemiad was

laid in September, 1817. It was located on Bates Street near Congress and was twenty-four feet by fifty feet. It was two stories in height. While it was under construction a classical academy was commissioned and began operation in rented quarters. Due in all probability to popular demand, the directors of the Catholepistemiad decided to open a Lancasterian school in Detroit for those students below the level of the academy. The chief attraction of this type of school was its cheapness of operation. The schoolmaster would utilize monitors selected from among the brighter students to assist him in his teaching. The teacher would first present the lesson to the monitors, each one of whom was responsible thereafter for teaching the same lesson to about ten other students. By this means one teacher theoretically could instruct about two hundred.

In 1818, the academy moved into the upper floor of the university building and shortly afterward Lemuel Shattuck, the Lancasterian instructor, put his school into operation on the first floor. In 1821, the governor and judges abolished the Catholepistemiad and established the University of Michigan. Like its predecessor this institution was a system of education for the territory. Governed by a board of twenty-one trustees, which was to have complete jurisdiction over all phases of education, the university could establish colleges, academies, and schools as it saw fit providing of course that there were adequate funds available.

The Lancasterian experiment proved to be a failure in Detroit, not only because of the apparent deficiencies in the system itself, but also because the people of Detroit and the trustees of the university failed to support it. Mr. Shattuck left the school in 1821 and John Farmer replaced him. When the trustees failed to pay his salary and reimburse him for repairs to the building which he had paid, Mr. Farmer quit in 1824, and the Lancasterian school closed its doors. In 1827 the territorial legislature passed an act which required every township of fifty or more inhabitants to employ a schoolmaster to teach children reading, writing, English, or French, arithmetic, spelling, and "decent behaviour." When a township acquired two hundred inhabitants it must also establish a school of higher grade in which Latin could be taught. Supposedly,

these schools were to be supported by taxation, but as before the law was not enforced. Under another act passed in 1829 two "common schools" were established in Detroit, but they were not "free schools." During the early 1830's a number of local and territorial laws were passed providing for tax supported schools, but little was done to make them operative. In fact, at a public meeting in December, 1833, it was stated that there was not a common school in existence in Detroit in which boys could gain even elementary education.

But Michigan was growing rapidly and being readied for statehood. The constitution of 1835 reflected the growing concern for education by making provision for a system of common schools as well as for a university with several branches. A unique feature of the constitution was the provision made for the establishment of the office of superintendent of public instruction. Influenced by the apparent efficiency of the Prussian system of education, Isaac E. Crary and John D. Pierce were instrumental in promoting the adoption of a similar system at the Constitutional Convention of 1835. Thus for Michigan, education became a responsibility of the government and a state official was appointed to attend to that responsibility.

On Isaac Crary's recommendation, Governor Stevens T. Mason appointed Pierce to the superintendency. The system of education proposed by Pierce and adopted by the legislature provided for the division of the state into districts and for the establishment of district schools therein. Several academies located strategically throughout the state were to serve as secondary schools. Designated as branches of the university the academies would offer three courses of study designed to: provide a general education for a large body of students on a higher level than the primary school, provide a classical education for those students desirous of entering the university, and provide teacher training for those students who wished to prepare themselves to teach in the primary schools.

In November, 1837, the Detroit branch of the university was authorized and began operating in June, 1838, in the old Catholepistemiad building on Bates Street. This branch in Detroit, which may be considered the forerunner of the high school, continued in

operation until 1842 when the university withdrew its support of the branches and they went out of existence.

Meanwhile, several district schools were established in Detroit, seven of them being in operation by the end of the year. They were public schools, but they were not free public schools. Each district would receive an allotment from the state primary school fund and would raise some money by taxation within the district. The remainder of the money to support the school would be assessed against the parents of the students in the form of rate bills. If state funds were decreased, the rate bills would go up and some parents because of the hard times would be forced to withdraw their children from school.

This situation was distasteful to many Detroiters who feared for the future of their city if children were to be permitted to grow up in ignorance. Dr. Zina Pitcher along with Douglass Houghton, Samuel Barstow, D. Bethune Duffield and others were the champions of a movement to provide the children of Detroit with a truly free public education. In 1841, Dr. Pitcher in his official capacity as mayor of the city conducted an educational survey which showed the need for such action. The next year a group of these influential citizens supported Douglass Houghton for mayor on a "free school" platform and despite furious organized resistance on the part of large property owners who feared greatly increased taxes, Houghton was elected. Shortly thereafter the state legislature granted Detroit the right to establish a single school district, elect a local board of education, and provide a "free and public education to all children within its limits between the ages of five and seventeen years."

In the first report issued by the Detroit Board of Education in March, 1842, it was recommended that "there should be at once established two grades of schools in each ward, and one or more high schools in the city." It stipulated that the first grade of schools—for the education of the youngest class of children—should be taught by females; that the second grade or middle schools for the instruction of the older and more advanced scholars should be taught by masters. The high school, stated the board, should be established in order to complete the common education and pre-

pare the scholars for entrance into the university. Unfortunately, declared the board, funds were so limited that for the time being it could do nothing more than authorize the establishment of one primary school in each ward for six months of the year and one middle school in each ward for the remaining six months. Accordingly, if any scholar in the city wanted a secondary education, he must of necessity turn to the private school or the private tutor. In May, 1842, free primary schools were opened in Detroit covering the first four years of instruction. In November of that year two middle schools were opened covering the second four year course. In addition a school for colored children was opened during the year.

During the decade of the forties the city grew rapidly. New schools were built to accommodate the increased number of pupils clamoring for free education. In 1849 a union school was established in the capitol building, combining the primary school and the middle school under one roof. Mr. Duffield and others continued the campaign for a public high school and at last in 1858 the board of education announced that a small frame building on Miami Avenue (the present site of the board of education offices on Broadway) would open its doors on August 30 as a free public high school. On that day Professor Henry Chaney, the first teacher, greeted the twenty-three students who reported to him. Free public secondary education in Detroit had had its beginning, but it would be many years before it would gain wholehearted public acceptance.

Lincoln's Policies as Seen by a Michigan Soldier

Edited and with an Introduction by Donald W. Disbrow

HENRY ALBERT POTTER was born in Himrod, Yates County, New York, in 1840. Educated at Starkey Seminary, he came to Michigan in 1856 to join his parents, who were pioneer farmers near Shepardsville, Clinton County. Potter taught school in Ovid for five years, meeting his classes in the winter season and working on the family farm during summer months. In July, 1862, he enlisted in Company B, Fourth Michigan Cavalry. He rose to sergeant in 1862 and was commissioned a second lieutenant in 1863. In 1864 Potter earned his captain's bars and was placed in command of Company H. He fought with his regiment from Stone River to Atlanta. Although never wounded, he had two horses shot from under him on successive days. Following the war he returned to Ovid, where over the years he engaged in banking, owned a dry goods store, and managed a creamery. A cousin of my mother, he was, as I remember him, a fine old soldier who loved to reminisce about the Civil War when he visited our Yates County, New York, farm ten years before his death which occurred in 1933.

This letter to his father, Edward C. Potter of Ovid, composed two years after President Abraham Lincoln had announced that the slaves of the states still in rebellion were henceforth "free," reflects the doubts many Northern soldiers had concerning Lincoln's coupling emancipation of the Negroes with the preservation of the Union as primary war aims for the North. Captain Potter's reasoning also shows the perplexities confronting Yankee soldiers during the Lincoln-McClellan presidential campaign of 1864.

The original Potter Papers are owned by his daughter, Mrs. Samuel G. Palmer of Bluff Point, New York, and typed copies of them are in the Michigan Historical Collections at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. Modern sentence structure with capitals and periods have been used to make for easier reading of the letters in the printed form.

CIVIL WAR LETTER
TO EDWARD COKE POTTER OF OVID

Henry Albert Potter

HEADQUARTERS Co. H
CAMP NEAR MARIETTA GA.
Sept. 29th 1864

MY DEAR FATHER;

Your letter was rec'd last night & found me well. I did not think when I wrote last that I would be giving consolation to any one opposed to the Union, the Constitution, and the putting down of this wicked Rebellion.

You want me to write you my views and sentiments. It is rather a hard matter at the present time, to get correct views, perhaps when everything & everybody are so "stirred up" as it were, from the very bottom—but I will try & tell you about how I feel, on the matter, and at the same time tell you that our Army here, as far as I know—believe about as I do.

We came down here to fight for the preservation of the Union, to put down the Rebellion which had broken out to destroy it. So long as the War was carried on vigorously for that we were satisfied. Anything that will strengthen our Army, any means by which we are made strong morally, I believe it is right to take in order to end the war quickly.

Any means by which the rebels are weakened, either in numbers, or moral strength, I believe it to be right & proper that these means be used—in making a division among themselves in sentiment, or in feeling, I believe we would be justified—in order that such a division might divide & break their force and thus demoralize & unfit them to hold out against us. At the time Mr. Lincoln issued his Emancipation Proclamation, I thought it really was a military necessity, that is, I thought it would take a portion of their strength from them, & give a corresponding to us, but as time has passed on & events transpired very contrary to what I expected I am forced to the conclusion that it was the commencement of a policy which has proved very injurious to our cause, & instead of the strength we anticipated has been nearly the cause of our failure. I do not mean failure as regards the army,

for that has been successful, gloriously so, but I mean a failure as regards our future friendly relations as a united nation in years to come. At the time the Proclamation was issued the North was a unit, practically every man was for whipping the rebels—giving them a real Constitutional whipping. While on the other side, the South was not well united at all, there was a feeling then of friendship for the old government as they called it, & a desire by many to get back into the union, without further bloodshed, for they had started with the delusion that they could go peaceably & without war. I am not speaking of the Southern leaders but of the common people & I know it is the truth. But when the Proclamation came, it acted as a clincher to the fire-eaters cry, "Lincoln is fighting to free our slaves" & that he had thrown the Constitution aside, & was going to subjugate & burn &c. The South, which had been wavering, was instantly united, again, for then really, they could fight for their rights. They knew as well as we do to-day that Mr. Lincoln had no right constitutionally to issue such a Proclamation, & they did not recognize his military necessity to do so.

In the North—which had until now been as a unit—the cry of unconstitutionality was raised and that with other things & with the policy necessary to back up such an act, gave birth to the Copperheads as they are called, at first, but now, as the war has still continued, without succeeding in putting down the Rebellion (which fattened from that day) has grown into what is called the Peace Party and from which I believe there is more danger to be than from the rebel army—to the country, I mean.

And the Proclamation did not strengthen our army one jot. Every slave that has been freed has gained his liberty by and thro' the army—and no negro not freed by the army has been freed at all—as far as the army goes into the "Confederacy," the slaves are used for Army purposes, and have their freedom, which is as it should be. As far as making soldiers of them, I have no objections to make if we are disposed to enlist negroes as soldiers. I think we have a right to do so, and of course, to give them our protection as such, in every particular.

I do not accuse Mr. Lincoln of uniting the South, or of dividing the North. I believe he acted conscientiously and really thought

he was doing as the necessities of the case demanded, but I am entirely convinced it was a sad mistake and led to those very evils, while at the same time it did not help our army at all.

We must not forget that in this war, we are fighting, as it were a part, against the whole. That is, the Government is fighting for the preservation of the whole country or Union and its whole interests both North and South alike, while the South is fighting against the Government as also its best interests—in that union. Because we are strong and have the power, we must not take any of those rights from her, which in the event of our being successful, we would have to give her again at the close of the struggle. To be sure she has rebelled & thus forfeited all rights, but we, as the wise parent ought not to take advantage of our enemy son, and thus eternally embitter him towards us by taking a pledge from him which we guaranteed to him in his Infancy. Slavery is recognized in the Constitution, and altho' I believed Slavery to be wrong, as much as ever, both morally and politicaly, yet as long as, our laws recognize it, we must submit.

So you see, that as long as the original policy was pursued to restore the Union, everything went well but when "the change" came, then and there, commenced our trouble, which has increased ever since, until there is a counter-revolution threatened, which if it should take place (and which is now the rebels last hope) I am afraid would entirely destroy us as a country, & make our Condition no better than poor distracted Mexico. I do not believe Mr. Lincoln's policy as regards Slavery can ever be carried out, he will have to give it up sooner or later. Why is it necessary for him to include as an extra condition in the terms of coming back into the Union, the "Abandonment of Slavery?" Are you or would you be willing to fight them after they had signified that they would come back either with or without Slavery? I am not willing to fight one moment for Slavery. Whenever they are ready to come back, then I say stop fighting, for Gods sake, and let reason once more be heard on both sides.

Of what avail will it be to us, what benefits will be derived from Union if we are obliged to keep an army of 200,000 in the South, to guard it, and keep it under, and there is just where we are tending, at present, allowing us to be successful in the end, with

Mr. Lincoln's policy, and no revolution in the North. These are my views as near as I can tell them to you. Of my predictions as to the future, I may be mistaken, but up to the present time, I believe all our political troubles have sprung from Mr. Lincoln's "Change of Policy." It does not seem that he would continue the War, for the sake of Slavery, but he says he has decided that he is right—or in the meaning of that effect.

When I wrote to you that I should "consider well before I voted for Uncle Abe," it was before I had heard of the proceedings of the Chicago Convention. I was in hopes that they would bring out a thorough & strong "Union Platform," but I was mistaken. It is a pitiful attempt to malign the administration while at the same time it says nothing against the rebellion and insults our brave army. The whole thing in my opinion only goes to prove what I have been trying to do, that the Copperheads, are increasing so fast that they have got control of the Democratic party, already, and all thro' the bad Policy of the said "Uncle Abe." When he started he carried the whole country with him, Republicans, Democrats, and all. Why? Because he stood upon the broad ground of the Union and the Constitution, but when he hauled up Slavery on the one side of the Platform, the Constitution slipped off on the other side. That is rather a strong picture but it conveys my meaning.

None of us can go the Chicago Platform, very few at least, and at the same time, very few of us like Mr. Lincoln's platform as regards the eternal negro.

You say your principles are the same as ever, you will see that mine have not changed for the worse. I guess we would agree pretty well now. I am for the Country, the whole Country and nothing but the country, and there is where the Army stands. We would be glad to shake hands with our Southern brethern, once more, there is no ill feeling between us, personally. But few among us but what feel that if situated just as they were, we should have been in their place. I think Mr. Lincoln will be elected. I shall not, and cannot vote with the traitorous Peace Party for McClellan, and I do not know as I can vote for Mr. Lincoln. Have not fully made up my mind.¹

¹There is no signature; apparently the ending has been lost.

Michigan News

UNDER THE EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP of Mr. Roscoe O. Bonisteel, three life memberships have been obtained recently for the Historical Society of Michigan. In addition, Mr. Bonisteel has obtained several memberships from delegates to the Constitutional Convention. Life members who are directly attributable to Mr. Bonisteel's efforts are: Mr. and Mrs. Alvin Bentley, Mr. and Mrs. John Carton, and Mr. and Mrs. George Romney.

Alvin Morell Bentley III was born in Portland, Maine, on August 30, 1918. His grandfather, Alvin M. Bentley, was the founder of the Owosso Manufacturing Company of Owosso, which is now a division of Mitchell-Bentley Corporation. Young Bentley lived outside Michigan, for the most part, until entering the University of Michigan, from which he received the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1940. He established his legal residence in Michigan in 1939 on his twenty-first birthday.

Since graduation from college, Mr. Bentley has devoted himself to public service in several fields, as well as looking after his business interests in Owosso. He did post-graduate work at the Turner Diplomatic School in Washington as preparation for a career in the United States Foreign Service which extended from 1941 to 1950.

Mr. Bentley resigned from the Foreign Service in 1950 to devote his time to writing and speaking throughout the United States on the Communist menace to America. In 1952 he entered the Republican primary and defeated incumbent Congressman Fred L. Crawford to become his party's candidate for representative from the Eighth Michigan District. Mr. Bentley won this seat in the general election of November, 1952, and served four terms in Congress from 1953 to 1961. As a result of his experience in the Foreign Service he was named to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

On March 1, 1954, Representative Bentley was the most seriously wounded of the five Congressmen who were shot on the floor of the House of Representatives by Puerto Rican Nationalist fanatics. After twenty-seven days in the hospital Mr. Bentley was

released, and he declared that his recovery was due to the thousands of prayers by friends and well-wishers, the able medical care he received, and his strong constitution and youth. His colleagues welcomed him back to the House on April 27, 1954, and heard Mr. Bentley assert:

Both sides of the aisle suffered casualties and both sides of the aisle reacted in the same way. Political campaigns are good and proper in their place, but we here in Washington have national and international problems whose importance far surpass the exigencies of any political contest . . . Perhaps the good Lord wanted to see if we could still meet problems on a nonpartisan basis. Perhaps it would be well if we met some of our bigger problems in the same way.

In September, 1961, Alvin Bentley was elected as a delegate from the Fifteenth Senatorial District to the Constitutional Convention which convened in Lansing on October 3. He was named chairman of the Committee on Education.

Mr. Bentley is married to Arvella Ann Duescher and has four children. He is a member of the Congregational Church, and is active in various civic organizations in Owosso and elsewhere. Mr. and Mrs. Bentley became life members of the Historical Society of Michigan in November, 1961.

John H. Carton is a native of Michigan, having been born in East Tawas. His father, Augustus C. Carton, served on the Michigan Historical Commission and the Historical Society of Michigan from 1912 to 1938. Mr. Carton attended high school in Lansing, received his B. A. from Antioch College, and the LL. B. degree from George Washington University.

Mr. Carton is now president of the Wolverine Insurance Company and the Federal Life and Casualty Company. He also serves on a number of insurance boards. Mr. Carton is very active in civic affairs and in 1961 was state chairman of the Michigan Week celebration.

George Wilcken Romney was born on July 8, 1907, in Colonial Durban, Chihuahua, Mexico, where his father was engaged in construction work and farming. Young Romney was raised in Idaho and Utah, where he graduated from high school at Salt Lake City in 1926. He attended Latter-Day Saints University, the University of Utah, and George Washington University. All of

his life he has been an active member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. He engaged in missionary work for the church in Scotland and England in 1927-28, and is currently president of the church's Detroit Stake.

Mr. Romney served as a tariff specialist for United States Senator David I. Walsh from 1929 to 1930. In the latter year he joined the Aluminum Company of America and from 1932 to 1938 was Washington representative for this company and for the Aluminum Wares Association.

Mr. Romney's active association with the automobile industry began in 1939 when he was appointed manager of the Detroit office of the Automobile Manufacturers Association. He became general manager of the association in 1942 and served during World War II as managing director of the Automotive Council for War Production. He joined Nash-Kelvinator Corporation in 1948 as assistant to the president. He became vice president in 1950 and executive vice president and a member of the board of directors in 1953. In 1954 he was named executive vice president of American Motors Corporation when that corporation was formed by the merger of the Nash-Kelvinator Corporation and the Hudson Motor Car Company. On October 14, 1954, he became president, chairman of the board, and general manager of American Motors. His work in developing and popularizing the compact car has brought to him widespread recognition.

A resident of Bloomfield Hills, Mr. Romney's interest in civic affairs on the local level is exemplified by his activity as chairman of the Detroit Citizens' Committee on School Needs. His interest in state affairs led to the organization of Citizens for Michigan, of which he is also chairman, and which was one of the leading forces in winning support for a convention to draft a new constitution for Michigan. In September, 1961, Mr. Romney was elected delegate on the Republican ticket from the Twelfth Senatorial District. He was elected vice president of the Constitutional Convention when it convened at Lansing in October, 1961.

Mr. Romney married Lenore Lafount in 1931. They have four children. Mr. and Mrs. Romney became life members of the Historical Society of Michigan in December, 1961.

Two members who have had a long interest in the Historical Society of Michigan and who both have served as trustees took out life memberships for themselves and their wives. These are Mr. Donald Finlayson and Mr. George Osborn.

Donald M. Finlayson has been president of the First National Bank of Sault Ste Marie since 1952, having been employed by that institution since 1905; the bank is also a life member.

Mr. and Mrs. Finlayson were born in Canada. They are very active in civic affairs. Mr. Finlayson has held office in the Chippewa County Historical Society and is currently a member of the Board of Trustees of the Historical Society of Michigan. Mr. Finlayson is a member of the Board of Education of Sault Ste Marie, and in 1955 was presented with the National Merit Service Medal by the Michigan Royal Arch Masons. Only one award is presented each year in each state.

George A. Osborn, son of Governor Chase S. Osborn, attended school in Sault Ste Marie; received his A. B. from the University of Michigan; and the degrees of B. S. and E. M. from Michigan College of Mines.

Mr. Osborn's career includes many fields. He has been a teacher, a mining engineer, and since 1912 he has been the editor and publisher of the *Evening News*, which is also a life member. He is a former trustee of the Historical Society of Michigan; served on the Mackinac Bridge Authority; was a delegate to the national Republican convention in 1928; and has received the Distinguished Alumni Service Award from the University of Michigan, and the Distinguished Citizen Award from Michigan State University.

Delegates of the Constitutional Convention who have joined the Society through Mr. Bonisteel's interests are: Glenn S. Allen, Kalamazoo; Charles L. Anspach, Mt. Pleasant; Frank A. Balcer, Detroit; Harold E. Bledsoe, Detroit; Dean Doty, Grand Ledge; Charles Figy, Morenci; Paul G. Goebel, Grand Rapids; Rockwell T. Gust, Grosse Pointe Farms; Dan E. Karn, Jackson; Karl K. Leibrand, Bay City; William J. Leppien, Saginaw; G. Keyes Page, Flint; John C. Shaffer, Gladwin; J. Harold Stevens, Detroit; and Henry L. Woolfenden, Bloomfield Hills.

Book Reviews and Notes

The Michigan Sheriff. By D. Hale Brake. (Lansing, The Michigan Sheriffs' Association, 1960. iv, 172 p. Illustration and Index. \$5.00.)

This booklet is written for the newly-elected sheriff, who may know nothing of the duties, responsibilities, records, procedures, and legal liabilities of his position. Its usefulness extends as well to the man who has been elected time after time to the position. Wisely the author has had his manual published in loose-leaf form, so that as the legislature changes the law or courts change its interpretation, new pages may be inserted where necessary and thus the manual be kept up-to-date.

The Michigan Sheriff opens with a chapter devoted to the origin and history of the office. This is not the most valuable part of the book. The author well knows that thirteen pages on "the oldest county office" in English-speaking countries are inadequate even as a sketch of the history of the sheriff. They suffice, however, to give the contemporary Michigan sheriff some idea of how his office originated and evolved, and how fundamental a governmental institution it is. Only the coroner, whose office also is old, can arrest the sheriff.

This is a manual for sheriffs. It tells them about the procedures to be followed to get nominated and elected, how to take their oaths of office, to appoint their deputies, to keep their accounts and records, to file their bonds, and how and by whom they are paid either through salaries or by fees. The essence of the book lies in describing what functions the sheriff performs and the proper procedures to be followed by him. Mr. Brake defines a complaint, states to whom and by whom it is made, and describes its requisites. He follows a similar procedure with warrants. Arrests with and without a warrant, and searches and seizures are thoroughly discussed. Bail, evidence and its preservation, habeas corpus, and extradition are treated. Twenty-five pages are spent on the important subject of service of civil process. The sheriff, as keeper of the jail, is well described. Many other miscellaneous responsibilities of the sheriff are spelled out in detail by Mr. Brake, such as those connected with mortgage foreclosure sales, and drawing and attending juries. The sheriff has responsibilities, each one differing, with respect to property, specific, and sales and use taxes; the cigarette, gasoline, liquor, and intangible tax; and unemployment compensation contributions.

The Michigan Sheriff has value to persons other than those elected to the office of sheriff. It should be particularly useful to those engaged in records management and archival work, and to teachers of civics.

The records manager can determine, from a study of *The Michigan Sheriff*, the kinds of records a sheriff is required to maintain as the records of his own office, and to whom he is responsible for them. He can also determine from whom a sheriff receives, and to whom he delivers such records as warrants and commitments; and what record he makes upon them himself.

For the high school civics teacher or the college instructor in local government, *The Michigan Sheriff* is a better textbook than those produced by the theoretical specialist. The student and his instructor can learn from this manual just what the sheriff is and does. Some of the things he would learn might surprise him; all would be instructive. The booklet is written by a person who has experience with county government, who is a former prosecuting attorney, state senator, and state treasurer, and who presently is a member of the Constitutional Convention. It is therefore recommended highly to teachers and those who have to do with the administration of records.

Michigan Historical Commission

LEWIS BEESON

The Iron Brigade: A Military History. By Alan T. Nolan. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1961. 412 p. Maps, illustrations, index. \$6.95.)

In the Army of the Potomac there was but one distinctively western brigade. Consisting of the Wisconsin Second, Sixth, and Seventh, and the Nineteenth Indiana regiments, which were brigaded in the fall of 1861, and joined by the Twenty-Fourth Michigan shortly after the Battle of Antietam, this rugged, spirited, hard-fighting infantry unit blazed a trail of glory from the Peninsula to Gettysburg, and along the way, at South Mountain, was given the name of which its soldiers were extremely proud—the Iron Brigade. That the black-hatted members of this organization earned and deserved such a flattering sobriquet Alan T. Nolan makes clear beyond question.

Relying for the most part on the *Official Records*, newspapers, and on diaries, letters, memoirs, and recollections of the officers and men in the brigade, the author has produced a well-organized and well-written volume that is based on extensive research. He makes delightful use of anecdote, provides ample illustrations and maps, and presents a remarkable amount of detail, which includes well-done biographical sketches of the brigade's key personnel. Moreover, he skillfully relates the activities of the brigade to the total war effort.

On rare occasion the author draws conclusions that are based on unconvincing evidence. He states, for example, that the feather worn on the head dress of the men in the Iron Brigade was black, but he has no evidence to support his statement. I for one would like to

know the truth of this matter, for though it is a trivial point, the black hats became, as the author himself asserts, the brigade's "trademark." More important is the new name given by Mr. Nolan to the twilight battle that took place on August 28, 1862, near Groveton, Virginia. He prefers to call it "The Battle at Brawner Farm," but the two "widely different authorities" that he cites do not establish beyond question that the farm at which the battle was fought belonged to a Brawner. Finally, there appears in the bibliography this item: "Kilmer, G. L., a series of undated pamphlets. . . ." It is the understanding of this reviewer that the listed Kilmer writings were newspaper articles, not pamphlets.

These criticisms should not obscure the fact that Mr. Nolan's volume is one of the best histories ever written on a Civil War military unit.

Michigan State University

FREDERICK D. WILLIAMS

Trimmers, Trucklers, and Temporizers: Notes of Murat Halstead from the Political Conventions of 1856. Edited by William B. Hesseltine and Rex Fisher. (Madison, The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1961. xiv, 128 p. \$3.50.)

Murat Halstead, a young Cincinnati newspaperman assigned to cover the presidential nominating conventions of 1856, took his job seriously. He was well aware, as was practically every voter in the nation, that there were important issues at stake in the coming election: issues of freedom, slavery, states' rights, and constitutionalism. He attended the first and second American (Knownothing) party conventions at Philadelphia and New York, and the Republican and Democratic conventions at Philadelphia and Cincinnati. Though he had little liking for Democrats and less for Knownothings, his reports, gathered together and edited by Professors Hesseltine and Fisher, are not only first-class reporting, but throw a good deal of illumination on the inside political struggles of this crucial period.

Halstead, despite his relative inexperience, had already developed a theory of politics. Political leaders, he believed, habitually avoided making decisions; they were natural-born "trimmers, trucklers, and temporizers." The public, on the other hand, wanted clear and decisive political leadership on vital issues. Politics in America therefore became a kind of tug-of-war between voters and politicians, the former trying to force the parties into taking a stand, the latter trying to avoid doing exactly that so that they might gain the largest vote while alienating the fewest voters.

Everything that happened at the 1856 meetings confirmed Halstead's convictions. He believed, before the conventions, that a contest between

Stephen Douglas and Salmon Chase would best "embody the issues now presented to the citizens of the Union" and provide the voters with a chance for "a complete and satisfactory settlement of the great question of American politics." This was not to be. Candidates who represented definite points of view were passed over. Buchanan, the Democratic nominee, drew his "main strength" from the fact that he was "equivocal" about everything. Fremont, "everybody's second choice," owed his nomination by the Republicans to a "popular instinct" which Halstead found "to a great degree unaccountable." (He literally did not even like the way Fremont parted his hair.) The net accomplishment of the conventions, therefore, was to Halstead little more than a successful evasion of the real issues, leading to an election "of no recognized and defined doctrinal significance." Certainly the chain of events which followed up to the conventions of 1860 tended to bear out his opinion.

Halstead went on to become one of the nation's most astute political reporters, attending all major national conventions until 1908. This brief, well-edited, and informative book is an excellent introduction both to Halstead the journalist and to the turbulent politics of 1856.

Michigan State University

RUSSEL B. NYE

Voices from the Wilderness. By Maurice F. Cole. (Ann Arbor, Edwards Brothers, 1961. 336 p. Illustrations and index.)

This book contains the texts of letters written mostly by ministers and missionaries in Michigan between 1828 and 1851. All but a few are reports to the American Home Missionary Society by missionaries sent out to Michigan. They provide many sidelights on life in pioneer times, as seen through the eyes of a preacher.

The principal duty of these missionaries was to organize churches, sabbath schools, temperance societies, and tract societies. Their letters also denote an interest in education. Almost all the letters stress the waywardness of the pioneers: the prevalence of intemperance, profanity, horse racing, various sports and pastimes which did not receive ministerial approval, sabbathbreaking, and the like. Many of the missionaries comment on the alarming growth of Universalism. It must be borne in mind that most of them were Congregationalists or Presbyterians. Furthermore, it was judicious to stress the prevalence of wickedness, since presumably that would encourage the society to seek funds to pay the missionaries dedicated to combatting it.

One may doubt that the pioneers were quite as sinful as they are depicted in these pages. But, nevertheless, one can not read these letters without being impressed by the extent of pioneer indifference to religion. Church membership in those times was held by the minority;

but those who were members took it more seriously than many church members of our time. The missionaries received a small quarterly stipend from the society, supplemented by whatever they could persuade the local congregations to donate. This was insufficient to maintain the ministers, in many instances, for a great many of them tell of trying to work a farm at the same time.

The author provides a brief introduction to the volume and a short biographical sketch of each of the men whose letters are quoted. The arrangement of the letters is alphabetical, according to the names of their writers. The volume would have been more useful to historians had the letters been arranged in chronological order. There is a great deal of repetition in them, and some parts might well have been omitted.

The author appears to be particularly interested in the covers of the letters, most of which are reproduced, and in the post-office stamps which they bear. He does not state the location of the letters, a serious omission for historians who may wish to consult the originals. The Chicago Theological Seminary has a large collection of American Home Missionary Society papers; whether the letters quoted here are from that collection is not stated.

It would have been useful, also, if the author had included some background information on the American Home Missionary Society: its purpose, its organization, how it raised its funds, and so on. For example, no mention is made of the fact that under the Plan of Union, the Presbyterians and Congregationalists worked together in the home mission field, each congregation deciding whether it wished to become a Congregational church or a Presbyterian church at the time of its organization.

In spite of these shortcomings, this book will be useful to any future writer who wishes to depict Michigan in pioneer times. Historians will be grateful to the author for sharing these letters with a wider audience, wherever he found them and wherever they now are.

Western Michigan University

WILLIS F. DUNBAR

With Sherman to the Sea: A Drummer's Story of the Civil War.

By Corydon Edward Foote, as related to Olive Deane Hormel, with a Foreword by Elizabeth Yates. (New York, The John Day Company, 1960. 255 p. Photographs, maps, and index. \$4.00.)

Most of the many Civil War books now being published are about generals and what they did (supposedly). Consequently it is a welcome novelty to have a book dealing with the adventures of a drummer boy. This particular book has added interest for Michigan readers because its hero was from Flint and served with the Tenth Michigan Infantry.

Cord Foote enlisted in the Tenth on January 10, 1862, at the age of thirteen. He was small even for his years, and one finds it amazing, on looking at his photographs, that he was allowed to join at all. Yet he served through three years of war, sharing in all the hardships and dangers of his older and larger comrades. During this time, because of poor food and constant toil, he grew little in stature, but in every other respect developed into a man — and a true soldier.

Foote went through the Murfreesboro campaign of 1862, the Chickamauga-Chattanooga battles of 1863, and fought and marched with Sherman's army to Atlanta and on to the sea in 1864. As a drummer boy, his duties were important and demanding. Not only did the drummers keep up the spirit and pace of the men as they marched, but they beat out the commands for battlefield movements and evolutions. In addition, when not busy otherwise, they acted as water-carriers and stretcher-bearers.

Foote's enlistment expired while Sherman was marching northward through South Carolina. He tried to remain with his regiment, but was obliged to go home, a veteran at the age of sixteen. When the Tenth returned to Michigan in July, 1865, to be mustered out, he walked from Flint to Jackson for a final reunion with his comrades, and to shout once again the regimental battle-cry: "Michigan forever! Glory or a wooden leg!"

Foote lived out the rest of his long life in Flint, successfully but uneventfully. For him his greatest experience always remained the Civil War, and to the end he retained his mastery of the drumsticks. Shortly before his death in 1944, he told the story of his war-time adventures to Olive Deane Hormel, a professional journalist. Miss Hormel substantiated and supplemented his tales with letters he wrote home from the army and other records. Also, doubtlessly, she embroidered and filled-in his reminiscences with her own imagination. But, except for a few harmless historical errors, the book has an authentic ring. The reader who is interested in the human side of the Civil War, who desires an insight into the lives of the men and boys who fought that war, and who likes an exciting tale beautifully told, will be delighted by *With Sherman to the Sea*.

Western Michigan University

ALBERT CASTEL

Greater Coldwater Centennial. ([Coldwater, The Patterson Company, 1961, 128 p. Illustrations.])

This is a typical centennial booklet issued on the occasion of a city's one hundredth anniversary. In this case the anniversary selected was the incorporation of the city of Coldwater on February 28, 1861. The booklet is better than the average. It not only reproduces the

centennial program which was held July 2, 1961, pictures of "Centennial Belles," and the usual plethora of beards; but contains quite a bit of the history of the community. There is an account of the founding of the village; the history of Coldwater High School, of the public schools, of the State Home and Training School, of the various churches, of the centennial business firms; and a narrative of Coldwater down to 1960 by various authors.

Those managing the centennial observance seem to have history well in mind, because in addition to such typical committees as brothers of the brush, and kangaroo court, there are listed committees on historical program, historical data, historical booklet advertising, historical scrapbook, pioneer events, and pioneer and homecoming day. Centennial booklets provide a cross section of a community whether or not they include specific historical accounts; the Coldwater centennial booklet in the future will be found to have a value for the historian.

Michigan Historical Commission

LEWIS BEESON

Dictionary of Wisconsin Biography. (State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, 1960. xiv, 385 p. No price given.)

More than a quarter of a century ago members of the Federal Writers Project of the Works Progress Administration prepared brief biographical sketches of several hundred persons important in Wisconsin's history. In 1950 the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, working from the nucleus of the W. P. A. manuscripts, launched an impressive research, writing, and editing program that culminated in the *Dictionary of Wisconsin Biography*.

The dictionary consists of 1,383 sketches prepared by 492 contributors. Each biography includes the individual's full name, dates of birth and death, education, an outline of the subject's career, and a brief list of sources. Length and detail are conditioned by the information available, the intricacies of the career described, and the importance of the individual.

Although the authors' prime consideration has been the importance of the persons in Wisconsin history, the careers of many transcended state boundaries. Michigan, a next-door neighbor and part of the same cultural-economic complex, is amply represented. Ninety-four of the persons chosen have some connection with the state. The association is by birth, educational affiliation, travel and exploration, residence, or economic interest. Among them are explorers like Duluth, Marquette, and Jolliet; fur traders like Hercules L. Dousman and Pierre Grignon; missionaries like Father Frederic Baraga; and businessmen like Cyrus Yawkey, Nelson and Harrison Ludington, and Isaac Stephenson.

Historians will find the capsule biographies of the many Wisconsinites who attained national prominence convenient for reference. Even more important to harassed searchers, however, are the sketches of more obscure persons, for the authoritative information the book presents will save them hours of research in the maze of works on local history, and in many cases from utter defeat.

Minnesota Historical Society

LUCILE M. KANE

Legal Education at Michigan, 1859-1959. By Elizabeth Gaspar Brown. (Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Law School, 1959. xvii, 940 p. Photographs, index. \$15.00.)

This large compendium of information was published on the occasion of the centennial of the University of Michigan Law School. The author asserts that the germ of the Law School was contained within the major subdivisions of knowledge compiled by Judge Augustus B. Woodward and incorporated in the *Catholepistemiad*, or University of Michigania, created by an act of the governor and judges of Michigan Territory in 1817. The Act of 1837, founding the University of Michigan, provided for a department of law, but such a department was not established by the regents of the University until 1859. The Law Department became the Law School in 1915.

The history of the University of Michigan Law School is told in the first 390 pages of this volume. The remainder consists of tables, charts, and documents. The organization of the historical material is topical. The deanship, the law teacher, the course of instruction, teaching techniques, enrollments, the law student, the Law School and William W. Cook, legal research, and the law library are each traced from the earliest days down to 1959. There would have been marked advantages in telling the story chronologically rather than topically; the method employed involves considerable repetition and is confusing to the reader. Its advantage is that it enables an investigator to find easily a compact treatment of a given aspect of the Law School's development. There is little of human interest in the story as it is told in this volume; the treatment is strictly institutional. It would have made the work more lively if the author had given a few sidelights on the personal characteristics of some of the leading figures.

From the very beginning, the law faculty aimed at making Michigan a truly national law school. In the first class, twenty-five out of the total of ninety were from states other than Michigan, and one was from Canada. In 1957-58, students came from forty-six states and twenty-two foreign countries to attend the Law School. The reluctance of taxpayers to spend money educating nonresidents was in evidence at an early date.

President James B. Angell, in 1879, met this criticism by citing figures which showed that fees paid by nonresidents amounted to a sum that was almost double the salaries of all the professors. All the earlier faculty members were practicing lawyers. It was not until well into the twentieth century that the preponderance of the faculty consisted of full-time instructors.

The volume contains a full account of the enormous benefactions to the Law School of William W. Cook. In addition to providing the Law Quadrangle, with its magnificent buildings, Cook also gave the University funds in the amount of more than two million dollars for the encouragement of legal research. It is an ironical fact that Cook never visited Ann Arbor to see the buildings which were made possible through his gifts.

There can be few facts about the Michigan Law School during its first century that are not in this book. The amount of research required to unearth and tabulate them must have been staggering. The volume will provide an invaluable source of reference for many years to come. One wonders whether the school's second century will see so many changes as has the one just ended.

Western Michigan University

WILLIS F. DUNBAR

Prehistoric Copper Mining in the Lake Superior Region. Edited by Roy Ward Drier and Octave Joseph Du Temple. (Published privately by Roy W. Drier, 715 Pine Street, Calumet, Michigan; and Octave J. Du Temple, 306 Plainfield Road, Hinsdale, Illinois, 1961. 214 p. Bibliography and illustrations. \$5.95.)

This book is a collection of articles that deal wholly or in part with ancient copper mining in the Lake Superior area. There is a foreword and introduction by Octave J. Du Temple followed by two papers written by Roy W. Drier. A second introductory section by Du Temple is then followed by twenty-three somewhat miscellaneous papers of very uneven quality.

I particularly liked the articles dealing with historic mining activities in the copper country. Of the articles on prehistoric mining and Indians I liked best those by Charles Whittlesey, William H. Holmes, Newton H. Winchell, and George R. Fox, each of whom in his way was a pioneer investigator of the subject.

Because most of the papers were written at different times by people of varying interests and degrees of knowledge, there is an inevitable mass of contradictory interpretation and opinion as well as some misinformation. I believe that the book would have been more useful if the editors had commented on these points, giving either their own opinions on such matters or providing specific bibliographic references

for additional reading. For instance, readers of the two papers by William P. F. Ferguson are left with the idea that he discovered pit house remains of a "Stone Age town or city" on Isle Royale. At this point it should have been noted that the McDonald-Massee Isle Royale expedition of 1928 examined Ferguson's site and, according to its report published by the Milwaukee Public Museum, concluded that there was no city of pit houses, or any other kinds of houses at this place.

The paper by Dean James Savage emphasizes a certain class of clay and copper artifacts and claims that they are authentic archaeological finds from Michigan. Here, in my opinion, the book could have been improved if the editors had pointed out that over the last half century every professional archaeologist who has examined any of these particular clay or copper objects has considered them to be fraudulent. The editors could then give their opinion or not, as they wished.

Despite my somewhat critical remarks, which are meant to be constructive and not derogatory, I found the book most interesting, and believe that others will enjoy reading it too.

Chicago Natural History Museum

GEORGE I. QUIMBY

Remember The Raisin! By G. Glenn Clift. (Frankfort, Kentucky, Kentucky Historical Society, 1961. 281 p. Prologue, appendix, bibliography, index. \$6.00.)

Mr. G. Glenn Clift, the Assistant Director of the Kentucky Historical Society, has written a work of real interest to those even remotely concerned with the history of the War of 1812.

The book starts with a prologue by E. Merton Coulter on the background causes of the War of 1812 from Kentucky's standpoint. Nearly the next hundred pages contain an account of raising the Kentucky force, their march to the Miami (Maumee), their reluctance to serve under Brigadier General James Winchester, relief at finding General William Harrison assigned to command the Northwestern Army, their advance to River Raisin (Frenchtown or Monroe), the battles of January 18 and January 22, 1813, and the massacre of January 23. Not a great deal of this part is new but it is well done and contains quotations from many participants.

The most interesting and significant parts of the book are the biographies of officer participants on both sides (about sixty-four pages) and the sixty page appendix that contains rosters of the American forces engaged in the battles and when possible how they fared.

This book should be of interest to students of Michigan history and a definite resource book on the War of 1812.

Michigan State University

ALEC R. GILPIN

Marquette Legends. By Francis Borgia Steck. (New York, Pageant Press, 1960. 350 p. Foreword, tables, notes, bibliography, facsimiles, and index. \$5.00.)

This book, by Fr. Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M., is intended to show how two Jesuits, Fr. Claude Dablon in the seventeenth century and Fr. Felix Martin in the nineteenth century, by misrepresentation and forgery endeavored to enhance the reputation of Fr. Jacques Marquette, S.J., "and in this way to raise the prestige of the Jesuits . . ." (Page 243; see also page 87, note 217.)

The author disclaims any intent to belittle Fr. Marquette. Nevertheless, on pages 30 and 31, Fr. Steck asserts that

It is a surprising fact that historians convincingly agree on practically everything regarding Marquette's life up to the year 1673, but with regard to everything recorded about Marquette's last two years, 1673-75, the authorities contradict each other. Hence, (1) Marquette's participation in the 1673 Jolliet expedition, (2) his subsequent sojourn at Saint Francis Xavier Mission near Green Bay from September, 1673, to November, 1674, (3) his journey to the Illinois country in the fall and winter of 1674, (4) his stay among the Illinois Indians at Kaskaskia Mission, (5) the manner of his death and burial on the eastern shore of Lake Michigan in May, 1675, (6) the removal of his mortal remains, two years later, to Saint Ignace Mission and their interment there in the mission chapel—all these traditionally accepted beliefs regarding the last years of Marquette lack convincing historical evidence and must be regarded as more or less legendary.

If participation in the 1673 expedition and his mission to the Illinois Indians in 1674-75 were subtracted from Fr. Marquette's achievements, his fame would be greatly diminished. The remainder of the volume is devoted to proving the author's thesis with a mass of detail and 689 footnotes.

This book is the result of a long controversy. In 1927 Fr. Steck published his doctoral dissertation, "The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673," in which he demonstrated for the first time that Fr. Claude Dablon, Superior of the Jesuits in Canada, was author of the "Récit des voyages et des découvertes du Père Jacques Marquette" published in Melchisedech Thevenot's *Recueil de Voyages*, Paris, 1681. The first sentence, "I embarked with the Sieur Jolliet, who had been chosen to conduct this enterprise . . ." made it appear that Fr. Marquette was the writer.

Because the whole narrative is in the first person, historians before 1927 had ascribed the authorship to Fr. Marquette, and some had considered him the leader of the expedition. Historians generally accepted the new finding, but strong partisans of Fr. Marquette attacked Fr. Steck. As a result, he continued his studies and published in mimeograph ten essays on the subject. Encouraged by friends to reduce them to a more readable form, Fr. Steck wrote *Marquette Legends*.

A comparison of this work with the doctoral dissertation shows that the author has broadened his field of attack. In the latter, he assumed that Fr. Marquette was the companion of Jolliet on the 1673 expedition; he only emphasized that Jolliet was the leader. In the former, he questions Fr. Marquette's having made the journey.

In the dissertation, Fr. Steck accepted the authenticity of Fr. Marquette's journal of the second voyage, 1674-75, writing that it "is unquestionably in Marquette's hand. . . ." (Page 164, note 74.) In the *Legends*, Fr. Felix Martin, S.J., is named as the author of the diary (page 244). This priest, born in France, founded St. Mary's College in Montreal and resided there from 1842-61.

Although the author protests he is seeking only the truth, he shows Fr. Marquette's supporters in the worst light. For example, Fr. Dablon's writing of the *Récit* in the first person, he calls forgery. The late Fr. Jean Delanglez, S.J., on the other hand, calls it "a literary device." (*Life and Voyages of Louis Jolliet, 1645-1700*, page 98.) The latter, in a series of articles in *Mid-America* during the 1940's, attacked the reputation of Frontenac, of LaSalle, and Cadillac, all of whom favored Franciscans over Jesuits.

When the results of scholarly research are interpreted to support partisan prejudices, the result is not sound history.

Fr. Steck does not include in his *Legends* two that pertain to Michigan: first, that Fr. Marquette was buried at Frankfort, not at Ludington; and second, that his remains were discovered at St. Ignace in 1877. Both have recently been subjects of controversy. A brochure, *Here I Shall Finish My Voyage*, by Catherine L. Stebbins, published in 1960, contains "proof" that Frankfort was the place where Fr. Marquette was first buried; and in volume forty-two of *Michigan History* (September, 1958) the question of the identification of his remains is debated. Whatever partisans or detractors may say, Fr. Marquette will not be forgotten.

Michigan Historical Collections

F. CLEVER BALD

Michigan Civil War History: An Annotated Bibliography. Edited by George S. May. (Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 1961. 128 p. Index. \$1.75.)

In the unparalleled flood of Civil War books and pamphlets commensurate with the centennial of that tragic watershed, it has become increasingly difficult to discern the occasional pearl of scholarly usefulness in so vast a literary oyster bed. The very mass of studies on the Civil War (conservative estimates place the number of volumes at forty-five thousand) but emphasizes the dire need for extensive work in the field of Civil War bibliography.

To date this area has drawn few laborers largely for four reasons. First, it is easier to amass data on one particular subject or theme than to survey the writings of an entire field. Secondly, writing narrative history is more enjoyable and affords the author unlimited opportunity to bring his own talents and tools into play. Thirdly, works of history that tell a story are in the end infinitely more lucrative. And lastly, though of minor importance when compared to the other factors, bibliographies have little popularity except to researchers. They are more for reference than for reading.

Therefore, when a competent editor compiles a comprehensive bibliography with painstaking effort, he has performed a service of little reward to himself but of inestimable value to the field. George May has done just that with this admirable bibliography of Michigan in the conflict of the 1860's.

Frankly, this reviewer — who readily concedes his Southern upbringing — did not believe that as many as 733 books, pamphlets and articles had been printed relating to the Wolverine State in the Civil War. Yet here they are, arranged alphabetically by author and grouped under two headings: primary and secondary sources. Of greater value, however, are the summaries made by the editor for each work. In some cases, we are simply told that this particular article contains the brief recollections of a man who served in a specific Michigan unit; in other, larger works such as John Robertson's voluminous *Michigan in the War*, the summary is of paragraph length.

Each entry contains author, full title, number of pages, and place, date and publisher. A full index eliminates any problems in tracking down a study or the extant writings on any Michigan regiment or battery. Appended also to this listing are three short essays on manuscript, newspaper and pictorial resources pertinent to Michigan in the 1860's. Bibliographies in these fields similar to this one will shortly be published.

If a shortcoming exists in this indispensable guide, it is the failure of the editor to be critical when criticism was warranted — to point out when a study is weak, inaccurate or overly biased. Such yellow lights would alert researchers to be cautious in handling those particular studies. Otherwise, Michigan has scored a resounding success during the Centennial with a work that will stand long after the last bag of popcorn has been consumed at a battle reenactment. This guide at the same time may spur other states into undertaking similar projects, which are needed badly.

In any event, as a guide and as a model, this listing is first-rate. In its own quiet way it is a deserving tribute to Billy Yanks from Michigan who marched off to war unpretentiously and helped cement a nation that exists more because of that war than in spite of it.

University of Iowa

JAMES I. ROBERTSON, JR.

Contributors

Governor John B. Swainson was born in 1925. He is the second youngest man to be elected Governor of Michigan. He attended Olivet College and the University of North Carolina, receiving his B.A. and LL.B. degrees from the latter institution. He was elected to the Michigan Senate in 1954 and 1956. He became Lieutenant Governor in 1959 and Governor in 1961.

Maurice F. Cole, an alumnus of Alma College, was born in Decatur. He received his Master of Arts from the University of Michigan and his law degree from the Detroit College of Law. He is a practicing attorney and at present is Oakland County Circuit Court Commissioner. He has written three books: *The Black Jacks of 1863*, a philatelic reference work; *Michigan Postal Markings*; and *Voices from the Wilderness*, a collection of early Michigan missionary letters.

Morris C. Taber, a native of Michigan, received the A.B. degree from Albion College and his masters from Ohio State University. He is an instructor at Highland Park Junior College and is working for his doctorate in history at the University of Michigan. He has been assisting in the historical research for the restoration of Fort Michilimackinac under Dr. Eugene Petersen.

Donald F. Lewis took his undergraduate work at Shurtleff College and his masters at the University of Missouri. He is a teacher in the Alton (Illinois) Senior High School and is active in local historical societies. He was president of the Madison County Historical Society for eight years and is still serving as director.

John C. McCloskey's article, "Jacksonian Democracy in Mrs. Kirkland's *A New Home—Who'll Follow?*" is the third in a series on the study of Mrs. Kirkland's book. The first, "Back Country Folkways," appeared in *Michigan History* in September, 1956, and the second, "Land Speculation in Michigan in 1835-36," appeared in March, 1958.

Floyd Dain is a teacher of history in the social studies department of Mumford High School, Detroit. He was awarded the 1956-57 citation by the American Association for State and Local History for his *"Every House a Frontier,"* published by the Wayne State University Press. This book was reviewed in the June, 1956 issue of *Michigan History*.

Dr. Donald W. Disbrow is an assistant professor of history at Eastern Michigan University, Ypsilanti. He is a graduate of Haverford College. He received his doctorate in 1956 from the University of Rochester. In 1960-61 he held the Eppley chair of history at Culver Military Institute in Indiana.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC.,
REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912,
MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946.

Of *Michigan History* magazine published quarterly at Lansing, Michigan, for December, 1961. State of Michigan, County of Ingham, ss.

Before me, a notary public, in and for the state and county aforesaid, personally appeared Lewis Beeson, who having been duly sworn, according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of the *Michigan History* magazine and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Acts of March 3, 1933 and July 2, 1946, embodied in section 537, *Postal Laws and Regulations*, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher and editor are: publisher, Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing, Michigan; editor, Lewis Beeson, Lansing, Michigan; managing editors and business managers, none.

2. That the owner is: the Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing, Michigan; Lewis G. Vander Velde, president, Ann Arbor; Willis F. Dunbar, vice-president, Kalamazoo; Lewis Beeson, executive secretary, Lansing. No stock.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and the other security holders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: none.

4. That the average number of *Michigan History* magazines distributed quarterly in 1961 numbered 1,900.

LEWIS BEESON, *Editor*.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 26th day of October, 1961.

JACQUELINE E. MOSS, *Notary Public*
My commission expires July 6, 1964

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LEONARD G. JOHNSON, Dearborn, 1959-62
HAZEN E. KUNZ, Livonia, 1961-62
MARGOT P. PEARSALL, Detroit, 1961-64
EUGENE T. PETERSEN, Mackinac Island, 1959-62
ROBERT M. WARNER, Ann Arbor, 1961-64
WILLARD C. WICHES, Holland, 1959-62
CHARLES F. WILLMAN, Ontonagon, 1960-63

The Historical Society of Michigan is an organization maintained and managed by Michigan citizens who are interested in the history of their state. It includes teachers, business men, professional people, and others who write history, study history, or just enjoy reading history. Its purpose is to encourage historical research and publication and to foster local historical societies throughout the state. Membership dues to individuals, libraries, and institutions are \$5.00 per year. *Michigan History* is sent to each member.

The Michigan Historical Commission is an official state body, consisting of six members appointed by the Governor. It was first established by an act of the legislature in 1913. The Commission is custodian of the state's archives; it compiles, edits, and publishes Michigan materials; and seeks to cultivate, through the Historical Society of Michigan and other groups, a continuing interest in the history of Michigan from the early times to the present.

Michigan History is a quarterly journal containing articles by qualified writers on Michigan subjects, reviews of books related to Michigan and its past, and news of historical activities in the state. Contributions are invited. Manuscripts should be submitted to the Editor, Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing 13, Michigan.

The Commission maintains at Lansing the Michigan Historical Museum, a rich storehouse of artifacts and documents related to the history of the state.

Among the activities of the Commission and the Society are the following: an annual meeting is held each year in the fall, at which tours and talks on Michiganiana are enjoyed; books and pamphlets are published from time to time; a conference on the teaching of Michigan materials is held annually; historical celebrations are encouraged in various parts of the state; a program of marking historical places is sponsored; guidance is provided to local governmental and state agencies on the destruction of useless records and the preservation of records having historical value.

